

THE USE OF SWA IN OLD ENGLISH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
1932

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TO MY FRIEND AND TEACHER
PROFESSOR KEMP MALONE



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PREFACE.

My purpose in this investigation has been to study the uses of the word *swa* in Old English. Lexicographers like Grein and Bosworth have handled the matter with considerable fullness, but up to the present time no one has attempted an exhaustive study of the word.

Like its New English descendants *as* and *so*, Old English *swa* presents several perplexing problems for the student of English syntax. Its principal use was that of a modal adverb, but from this basic function arose a number of other uses, a few of which almost baffle analysis. Some of these appear to be the products of normal syntactical evolution; others are probably reminiscent of an early-day translator's wrestle with the grammar of his Latin original.

It would be presumptuous in the writer to lay too high a claim for the practical value of such a study. It will, of course, serve as a supplement to the various Old English dictionaries. It will establish precedent for the translation of *swa* in the Old English texts. But whether of practical value or not, it will at least serve to document the early linguistic history of the prolific *as* — *so* family.

With this in view, I have examined all the Old English poems contained in Grein-Wülker¹, as well as the few specimens in Grein's earlier edition² not included in the Wülker re-edition. This covers all the early anonymous poetry, the poetry of the Cædmonian school, and that of Cynewulf and his followers.

In prose, my principal source has been Grein³, volumes 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, containing, respectively:

Ælfric's Heptateuch
The Rule of St. Benedict
Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Holy Lives
King Alfred's Translation of Bede
The Dialogues of St. Gregory.

¹ Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächs. Poesie*. 1883—1898.

² Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*. 1857—58.

³ Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*. 1872—1900.

This study contains every *swa* found in the above-listed works, as well as the illustrations found in Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, King Alfred's *Orosius*⁴, the *Blickling Homilies*⁵, and Wulfstan's *Sermons*⁶. Isolated examples have been taken from *St. Basil's Admonitio*⁷, *Gregory's Pastoral Care*⁸, and the Old English *Leechdoms*⁹. The year 1023, which marks the death of Wulfstan, has been set as the forward limit of the prose study.

As I turn this little monograph over to the mercies of the scholarly critics, I feel deeply my obligations to former teachers¹⁰. Professor Homer C. House of the University of Maryland I remember as the instructor who introduced me to Old English and made me aware of the romance in the field of linguistics. My classes with Maurice Bloomfield in Indo-European Phonology, with Dr. Kurrelmeyer in Middle High German, with Dr. Blondheim in Old French, and with Dr. Collitz in Old Norse, Old High German, and Gothic I recall with pleasure passing expression. Most of all I am indebted to Professor Kemp Malone, whose stimulating seminars in Old English gave the impetus to this investigation and without whose sympathetic counsel and wise direction, I should have been seriously handicapped. His wide knowledge of the Germanic field and his keen discernment in matters of syntax have shed light on many dark places.

⁴ Sweet, Henry (ed.) EETS No. 79. London, 1883.

⁵ Morris, R. (ed.) EETS Nos. 58 and 63. London, 1874 and 1876.

⁶ Napier, Arthur (ed.) *Wulfstan*. Berlin, 1883.

⁷ Norman, H. W. (ed.) *The AS. Remains of St. Basil's Admonitio*. London, 1849.

⁸ Sweet, Henry (ed.) EETS Nos. 45 and 50. London, 1871 and 1872.

⁹ Cockayne, Oswald (ed.) *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*. London, 1864.

¹⁰ My thanks are due also to Miss Frieda Thies of the Johns Hopkins Library force. She has often dropped more important tasks to place books at my disposal, and in tracing bibliographical items for me from the faintest and most shadowy clues, she has displayed an ability well-nigh uncanny.

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I. CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB.

(1) *Swa* in the initial position.

In the earliest monuments the conjunctive adverb is written *swa*. Later, *swa swa* is used, sometimes to approximate Latin expressions like *velut*, *ita ut*, and *pro ut*, but just as often indifferently with *swa*.

1. Beow. 29:

hi hyne þa ætbæron to brimes faroðe
swæse gesiþas, *swa* he selfa bæd,
(*as* he himself had bidden)

2. Dan. 157:

þæt him engel godes eall asægde,
swa his mandrihten gemæted weard.
(*as* his king had dreamed it)

3. And. 269:

oð þæt we þissa leoda land gesohton
wære bewrecene, *swa* us wind fordraf.
(*as* the wind drove us)

4. AGen. 18, 5:

Do *swa* þu spræce. (Do *as* thou sayest)

5. Wulf. 20, 6:

Leofan men, doð, *swa* eow mycel þearf is,
(do, *as* there is great need to you)

Other cases*: Wid. 6. Beow. 273. 352. 401. 444. 55. 490. 561.
666. 881. 956. 1055. 1058. 1134. 1172. 1231. 1234. 1238. 1252.
1381. 1396. 1404†. 1451. 1571. 1587. 1670. 1676. 1707. 1786.

* Examples marked with an asterisk appear in one manuscript as *swa swa*.

† Klaeber's emendation.

1828. 1891. 1975. 2233. 2310. 2332. 2470. 2480. 2491. 2521.
2526. 2574. 2585. 2590. 2664. 2696. 2859. 3049. 3078. 3098.
3140. 3161. 3174. Chm. I, 35. V, C—15. HP. 5, 20. Wald. II, 24.
Wand. 14. 43. 75. VPs. 65, 10. 67, 3a. 77, 43. 81, 7a. 94, 9. HP.
3, 43. 4, 83. 4, 115. 5, 20. 6, 12. 7, 34. 40. 102. 121. 123. 9, 33. 35.
10, 58. Seaf. 90. 269. Gen. 125. 161. 457. 461. 555. 563. 682. 901.
966. 1205. 1314. 1322. 1356. 1361. 1494. 1565. 1573. 1716. 1723.
1748. 1770. 1840. 2225. 2248. 2258. 2295. 2300. 2304. 2323.
2357. 2368. 2390. 2444. 2465. 2493. 2586. 2632. 2735. 2759.
2760. 2768. 2771. 2802. 2871. 2873. 2878. 2893. 2895. 2897.
Ex. 101. 352. 359. 388. Dan. 3. 20. 62. 139. 183. 185. 235. 245.
258. 289. 433. 494. 561. 582. 645. 655. 658. CS. 14. 117. 279.
306. 412. 484. 525. 625. 689. 724. DHR. 108. 114. Gnv. 11.
gnv. 49. PG. 103. WC. 45. SB. 7 b. 64. 83. 102. 143. DJ. 32 b.
94. FS. 26. MM. 63. PM. 3. 46. FM. 14. 19. 30. 39. SS. 96.
Cr. 17. 58. 63. 132. 135. 455. 468. 543. 547. 596. 632. 699. 701.
870. 897. 984. 1109. 1233. Guth. 40. 42. 129. 246. 373. 396. 419.
566. 974. 1114. 1297. And. 5. 149. 269. 297. 304. 322. 345.
348. 357. 389. 418. 594. 622. 649. 786. 789. 845. 931. 949. 972.
1045. 1231. 1321. 1514. 1696. El. 87. 100. 190. 223. 325 c. 378.
411. 478. 498. 541 b. 589. 597. 606. 645. 674. 715. 834. 837.
895. 1021. 1130. 1154. 1254. 1268. 1293. Ph. 29. 36. 147. 280.
328. 496. 652. Whale 47. Pan. 20. Rid. 3, 1. 10, 7. 21, 25. 22, 2.
23, 6. 25, 10. 34, 11. 41, 5. 34. 49, 8. 60, 11. 62, 4. 78, 4. 84, 32.
Jud. 38. 95. 123. 143. 197. 277. VPs. 88, 50. 94, 9. Ps. Cot.
L, 13. 117. PB. 11, 43. 20, 11. 49. 105. 24, 14. 26, 92. 27, 30.
28, 46. 29, 38. 42. 31, 9. EH. 1, 99. 151. 833. 1134. 1396. 2084.
2, 322. 608. 649. 650. 810. 884. 1669. 1859. 3, 114. 167. 287.
583. 1262. 1653. 1714. 1735. 1887. 2139. 2290. 2655. 2696. 2858.
2871. 4, 478. 588. 593. 600. 1057. 2387. 3752. 4306. 4765. 4791.
5, 234. 335. 687. 1125. 1511. 1522. Or. 4, 17. 8, 14. 10, 4. 24, 32.
30, 24. 32, 11. 50, 20. 54, 28. 60, 11. 68, 10. 72, 20. 82, 34. 86, 110.
90, 2. 92, 20. 94, 28. 98, 17. 102, 5. 104, 18. 106, 31. 130, 3.
154, 13. 156, 23. 170, 23. 114, 2. 116, 15. 32. 118, 10. 31. 120, 22.
122, 28. 128, 24. 170, 10. 172, 13. 174, 14. 182, 6. 184, 8. 188, 14.
194, 26. 204, 29. 218, 3. 220, 19. 230, 19. 244, 25. 250, 21. 254, 9.

27. 256, 14. 258, 19. 260, 2. 262, 11b. 272, 19. 286, 6. 290, 13.
 290, 29. BM. 198. 290. DA. 17. 18. BRPro. 4, 18. BR. 25, 18.
 30, 15. 40, 4. 44, 3. 74, 19. BB. 7. BH. 5, 35. 9, 30. 13, 3. 17, 4a.
 19, 2. 23, 7. 9. 29, 6. 45, 24. 49, 1. 3. 51, 26. 53, 24. 55, 30. 67, 16.
 69, 31. 71, 6. 75, 16. 77, 10. 30. 79, 26. 81, 2. 4. 83, 6. 22. 85, 28.
 95, 2. 34. 101, 30c. 103, 30. 107, 16. 109, 7. 15. 21. 115, 15. 121, 4.
 123, 18. 125, 31. 127, 16. 131, 13. 21. 28. 133, 33. 135, 33. 215, 36.
 147, 32. 153, 12. 24. 155, 26. 157, 4. 159, 22. 165, 23. 171, 10.
 209, 21. 213, 15. 227, 14. 235, 17. 237, 35. 239, 13. DG. 2, 7. 9, 2*.
 11, 9. 21. 24, 18*. 25, 24. 34, 26*. 35, 12*. 44, 15*. 46, 6. 57, 21.
 58, 8. 61, 6. 70, 1. 95, 6. 116, 5. 123, 31. 124, 22. 136, 6. 142, 32.
 197, 12. 160, 16. 179, 5. 182, 11. 215, 19. 220, 22. 223, 16. 343, 17.
 226, 6. 227, 5. 232, 25. 247, 19. 257, 25. 270, 20. 280, 10. 282, 26.
 295, 6. 296, 21. 307, 3. 309, 11. 314, 11. 318, 16. 331, 8. 337, 12.
 20. PNT. 876*. 883. 1060. 1156. 1251 B*. AGen. 18, 5. 33. 24,
 9 C. 13 C. 15—20 b B. 27, 13. 14. 19. 33, 14. 18—20. 35, 5—6.
 42, 18. 42, 20. 43, 11 b. 17. 44, 6. 48, 5. 20. 50, 6. 12. 20. 40, 13.
 AEx. 2, 14. 5, 7. 13. 14. 7, 10. 13. 20. 8, 15. 19. 27. 31. 9, 12. 35.
 10, 11 d. 29. 12, 25. 28. 31. 14, 22. 21, 7. 23, 15. 32, 13. 23. 33, 4.
 11. 17. 34, 4. 18. Lev. 8, 4. 9. 13. 17. 31. 35. 9, 23. 10, 5. 24, 23.
 Num. 1, 19. 3, 16. 10, 28. 11, 12. 13, 4. 23, 8. Deut. 1, 11. 30.
 31. 4, 5. 5, 12. 6, 16. 9, 18. 25. 10, 5. 10. 28, 13. 29. 31, 3. Josh.
 2, 22. 8, 2*. 11, 14. ASHom. 8, 59. 160. 10, 73. 175. 199. 324. 408.
 679. 11, 74 b. 76. 87 b. 129. 12, 144. 147. 149. 13, 9. 36. 99. 120.
 132. 153. 167. 198. 215. 250. 15, 208. 18, 12. 71 a. 158. PPs. 32,
 18. 50, 1. 55, 7. 58, 6. 14. 60, 6 b. 61, 3. 65, 9. 71, 6 a. 91, 11 b.
 93, 2. 7. 101, 9. 23. 102, 8. 12. 104, 18. 72, 17. 73, 5 a. 77, 16. 57.
 78, 13. 80, 12. 81, 7. 82, 8. 82, 9. 10 b. 10 c. 89, 5. 105, 22. 25. 26.
 106, 29. 108, 18. 21. 113, 4. 6 c. 11. 117, 13. 118, 14. 91. 132. 162.
 119, 5. 125, 6. 131, 11. 138, 15. 20. 139, 3. 140, 2. 142, 6. 87, 17.
 LAS. 12: Pro. 3. 17, 1; 32: El. 18; 344, 7; 453, 4; 471, 19;
 36, 26; 48: 1, 2. 6. 8 a. 8 b; 50, 3; 52, 6; 52: 6, 1. 7; 58, 18;
 60: 19, 3; 64: 31, 1; 70, 38; 76: 42, 2. 4 c; 90, 5; 92, 7; 102, 31;
 112, 53 b; 116, 62; 120, 73; 126, 3 b; 128: Pro. 2 a; 130, 3 d. 4;
 134, 12; 140: 1, 5 a; 142: 1, 2. 5; 144: 5, 2. 8; 154, 7; 156, 11;
 158: 14, 1; 162: 23, 2; 177: 6, 3 a. 3 d. 4; 178: 8, 1 c; 179: 8, 5;

180: 8, 8; 181: 8, 9; 183: 12, 2 (2); 186, 4; 188, 4. 192, 2. 194: 6, 1. 196: 3, 1. 198, 5. 202, 3. 5. 238, 5. 7. 240, 13. 248: 3. 4. 5, 2. 250: 2, 5. 252: 22, 1. 263, 3. 264, 7. 266, 27. 286, 43. 273, 6. 282: 2, 5. 286: 5, 2. 288: 5, 3. 292: 8, 2. 294: 14, 2. 330, 27. 334, 31 a. 336: 33, 2. 350, 62. 65. 354, 68. 356, 71 a. 360: 72, 1. 370: 84, 6 a. 374: 1, 2. 384: 57, 2. 384: 61, 2. 392, 2. 394: Wer. 7 396: 1, 4. 400: 3, 2. 442: 1 b. 447: 4, 4. 449: 6, 3. 452, 21. Wulf. 15, 7. 17, 1. 8. 12. 18, 2. 20, 1. 6. 22, 11. 19. 27, 4. 28, 20. 37, 13. 38, 14. 39, 14. 40, 23. 44, 25. 49, 15. 28, 51, 13. 52, 24. 68, 4. 69, 10. 74, 21. 75, 16. 84, 10. 90, 10. 13. 94, 10. 15. 173, 20. 29. 30. 96, 16. 177, 10. 98, 5. 101, 22. 103, 15. 104, 1. 109, 5. 112, 1. 117, 5. 178, 5. 182, 1. 120, 14. 122, 4. 124, 11. 125, 1. 125, 17. 127, 9. 13. 129, 5. 10. 130, 9. 134, 24. 136, 8. 26. 28. 142, 12. 143, 20. 150, 23. 152, 2. 9. 153, 11. 182, 7. 155, 24. 159, 13. 161, 2. 163, 19. 193, 3. 166, 1. 3. 169, 9. 170, 12. 171, 6. 12. 172, 4. 10. 182, 1. 7. 184, 11. 189, 1. 190, 17. 191, 21. 194, 4. 198, 3. 204, 6. 205, 14.

I. *Swa* as a Conjunctive Adverb (continued).

1(b). As an interrogative adverb: 'how'.

1. EH. 4, 3459:

swa he wundra fela, ece Drihten, ord astealde (*how* he, the Eternal God, established the beginning)

2. POT 650:

and he swutelice sæde on his gesetnisse be Christes acennednesse, *swa swa* he com to mannum (*how* he should come to mankind)

(2) *Swa swa* in the initial position.

As previously noted, this doubled form is often used for a corresponding strengthened form in Latin; for example: EH. 1, 541 (for *veluti*); EH. 1, 1396 (for *prout*); AGen. 7, 8 (for *sicuti*) and ASHom. 10, 96 (for *ita ut*). In many cases, however, it is used for a Latin word not re-inforced: Num. 13, 28 and EH. 1, 1214.

1. EH. 1, 1220:

nealecton to þære ceastre, *swa swa* heora þeau wæs
(as their custom was)

2. PB. 11, 100:

and geendebyrd, *swa swa* oðra sint woruldgesceafta
(as other worldly creatures are)

3. ASHom. 1, 89:

tæhte his folgerum, þe him filigdon on life, *swa swa*
he sylf sæde on his halgum godspelle (as He Himself
said in His Holy Gospel)

4. AGen. 16, 2:

Abram þa dyde *swa swa* him dihte Sarai (as Sara
bade him).

5. BR. 21, 9:

Utan don *swa swa* se witega myngaþ (Let us do as
the prophet advises)

Other cases: Chm. VIII, 12. EH. 1, 1214. 1416. 1478. 1880.
2, 277. 558*. 723. 1238*. 1273. 1323*. 3, 883*. 1564. 1836. 1862.
1899. 1921. 1932. 1945. 2054. 2115. 2159. 2599. 3016. 3081.
3318. 4, 28. 195. 237. 483*. 514. 619*. 712. 1127. 1254 b*. 1490.
1600. 1679. 1789. 2059¹¹. 2259. 2331. 2458. 2596. 2734. 2796.
2879. 2934. 2983. 3061*. 3486. 3580*. 3968. 4097. 4177*. 4244.
4438. 4462*. 4686*. 4779. 4791*. 4822. 4902*. 4908*. 5, 214.
636. 771*. 956*. 1165*. 1215. 1364*. 1688. 2519. 2621. 2841.
3096. 3109. 3209. 3257. Or. 29, 30. 36, 13. 62, 12. 84, 26. 104, 21.
138, 21. 164, 12. 178, 10. 226, 18. 296, 24. 25 a. PB. 12, 27. 13, 64.
74. 20, 207. 27, 2. VP. 32, 22. 140, 7. BR. Pr. 1, 17. BR. 13, 1.
18, 14. 21, 9. 27, 15. 28, 8. 38, 22. 57, 6. 73, 20. 82, 14. 92, 8.
115, 11. 121, 9. 10. 136, 29. 30. HP. 6, 23. BH. 29, 23. 35, 18.
43, 8. 45, 6. 61, 29. 79, 1. 87, 30. 127, 36. 131, 20. 141, 5. 153, 27.
155, 9 a. 179, 1. 197, 27. 247, 13. 249, 19. DG. 86, 34. 117, 3. 12,
17. 13, 13. 24. 14, 12. 19, 20. 22, 12. 35, 12 H. 48, 7. 53, 5. 55, 17.
57, 29. 62, 11. 64, 17. 79, 15. 87, 13. 101, 32. 104, 24. 34. 122, 4. 9.

* Forms so marked appear as *swa* in one manuscript.

¹¹ In combination with *eac swilce*.

127, 3. 140, 16. 147, 5. 148, 26*. 32. 149, 6. 15. 21. 154, 26*. 171, 10. 172, 26*. 176, 23. 180, 9. 185, 11. 12. 186, 6. 202, 24. 203, 18. 204, 13. 14. 215, 15. 216, 9. 225, 27. 226, 20. 24. 238, 16. 239, 28. 244, 4. 12. 246, 16. 257, 16. 19. 261, 9. 268, 9. 272, 11. 282, 2. 283, 20. 22. 284, 22. 287, 3. 289, 13. 26. 292, 4. 8. 25. 301, 16. 309, 27. 318, 20. 320, 27. 325, 14. 326, 30. 328, 13. 15. 19. 338, 32. 339, 24. 135, 18. 151, 21. 158, 23. 167, 8. 240, 19. 299, 22. ASHom. 1, 22. 89. 107. 128. 149. 154. 226. 16, 222. 308. 11, 45. 1, 248. 274. 293. 2, 25. 28. 37. 70. 92. 111. 141. 149. 154. 161. 170. 173. 187. 201. 208. 210. 218. 3, 13. 69. 227. 229. 240. 270. 291. 296. 299. 303. 309. 318. 329. 353. 363. 374. 383 b. 529. 386. 393. 410. 430. 432. 434. 439. 450. 479. 483. 484. 486 b. 524. 578. 4, 28. 41. 51. 60. 118. 132. 136. 159. 171. 213. 216. 223. 225. 256. 262. 5, 36. 67. 129. 145. 152. 161. 169. 6, 14. 46. 51. 57. 68. 95. 130. 131. 138. 151. 164. 180¹². 8, 7. 37. 198. 322. 9, 20. 51. 144. 155. 309. 396. 424. 440. 444. 10, 300. 13, 72. 266. 267. 18, 1. 59. 99. JEp. 3. 14. 78. 79. PNT. 870. 877. 912. 978. 1016. 1035. 1042. 1045. 1046. 1065. 1092. 1129. 1141. 1190. 1194. 1253. 1213. 1269. POT 20. 47. 49. 126. 129. 178. 194. 229. 320. 342. 369. 397. 418. 425. 449. 459. 482. 484. 708. 509. 546. 568. 572. 576. 620. 628. 643. 650. 672. 692. 704. 724. 730. 741. 747. 761. PG. 10. 11. 30. 52. 64. 71. 78. 82. 109. AGen. 7, 8. 8, 21. 12, 4. 17, 23. 21, 1. 4. 12. 23. 24, 15—20 a. Num. 13, 1. 28. 14, 17. 21, 22. 22, 4 b. 26, 64—5. Deut. 4, 33. 28, 9. 11. 32, 50. 34, 5. 9. Josh. 1, 3. 11, 17 (2). 3, 6. 7. 4, 4. 8. 14. 18. 5, 3. 6, 23. 7, 22. 8, 8. 19. 9, 12. 13. 23, 6. 14, 2. 21, 41. 23, 6. Jg. 5, 32. 7, 1. 4. 17. 8, 28 a. 13, 24. 16, 3 a. 21 a. 21 b. Josh. 10, 22. 40. 11, 9. 12. 20. 23. Job. IV, 3. X—2, 10. XI—2, 13. XVIII—2. 3. Wulf. 2, 17. 44, 23. 46, 21. 47, 16. 48, 8. 10. 12. 67, 6. 82, 10. 92, 7. 9. 10. 93, 4. 6. 103, 7. 104, 5. 14. 105, 25. 124, 10. 125, 12. 15. 132, 25. 142, 22. 155, 22. 28. 158, 1. 159, 18. 165, 8. 168, 3. 170, 5. 172, 3. 174, 22 (2). 176. 3. 9. 12. 178, 3. 13. 21. 179, 2. 180, 7. 181, 8. 184, 6. 189, 16. 192, 14. 19. 192, 2—3 a. 193, 26—27. 199, 9. 200, 1. 201, 7. 34, 7. 39,

* Starred forms appear as *swa* in one manuscript.

¹² The specimens from Book 7 of ASHom. are not given, since they are repeated in Ælfric's Preface to the Old Testament (POT).

21. 120, 4. 5. 128, 13. 190, 17. 192, 14. 19. JPro. 15. LAS. 130: 4, 1; 168: 1, 3; 178: 8, 1 d; 196: 1, 1; 208: 1, 5; 240, 15; 242, 22; 252: 22, 3. 23; 254: 27, 1. 32, 3 b; 258, 51; 262, 3; 265, 30. 34; 269: Pro. 3; 286: 5, 2c; 342: 42. 45, 1; 358: 84, 4; 362: 75, 2; 380, 1; 400: 1.3, 1; 453, 5; 458, 7 b; 472, 21. 22 a; Num. 17, 7. 11.

II. ELLIPTICAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

(1) *Swa* as a conjunctive adverb in an ellipsis, often rendered by 'like'.

1. Beow. 642:

þa wæs eft *swa* ær inne on healle þryðword sprecen deod
on sælum (then again, *as* of yore)

2. SS. 1, 23:

weallad *swa* nieten (*like* an animal)

3. Jul. 597:

swylce he grennade and gristbitade,
wedde on gewitte *swa* wilde deor (*as* a wild beast)

4. BH. 207, 20:

and gelomlice ða stanas *swa* of oðrum clife stædhlyplice
ut sceoredon (*as* from a steep cliff projected)

5. Deut. 32, 2a:

Weaxe min lar *swa* ren (my doctrines shall gather *as* rain)¹⁸

Other cases: Beow. 1787. 2622. Chm. V: C—16 a. 16 b. Cr. 988. Whale 47. HP. 9, 10. Gnv. 200: Seaf. 90. Gen. 78. 283. Dan. 577. El. 881. 1308. And. 67. 1274. 1341. 1476. Guth. 276. 390. Jul. 597. 907. Ph. 23. 108. 300. 315. 558. 597. Rid. 25, 2 (2). 3 (2). Or. 60, 6. 86, 1. 132, 3. 264, 9. EH. 4, 455. 4649 B. ASHom. 18, 253. VPs. 13, 4. 36, 6 b. 57, 5. 81, 7 a. 86, 7. 101, 4 b. 105, 9. 118, 162. 140, 2. BH. 109, 36. 185, 29. 201, 27. 207, 20. 235, 23 a. 27. 32. 241, 276. 233, 4. 245, 25. DG. 179, 13. 220, 25 b. 294, 19. Wulf. 84, 6. PB. 31, 21. AGen. 3, 22. 31, 15. 32, 12. Num. 12, 10

¹⁸ The distinction between such a case (*ut* in Latin) and the cases from *quasi* (see below, p. 12f.) is a fine one. In the above verse *ut* and *quasi* are rendered indifferently by *swa*.

(Grein). 14, 15*. Lev. 11, 4. Deut. 1, 17 (2). 10, 22. 32, 2. 14. PPs. 51, 7. 113, 6 a. 6 b. 62, 5. 52, 5. 54, 6. 70, 6. 71, 6 b. 16. 76, 17. 77, 52. 78, 3. 79, 1. 118, 176. 88, 26. 31. 89, 6 a. 91, 11 (2). 101, 9 a. 103, 2. 108, 23. 28. 132, 3. 147, 5 b. 147, 9. LAS. 12, 2; 226: 27, 1; 7, 74; 8, 80; 12, 2; 52: 5, 5; 66, 26; 114: 54, 2; 344, 47.

(2) With *swa swa*.

1. PB. 26, 45:

weordodon *swa swa* wuldres cyning (*as a worldly king*)

2. BR. 11, 1:

he bid gewitnod *swa swa* gymeleas hyrde (*like a careless shepherd*)

3. DG. 55, 10:

and ic gemænigfealde þin sæd *swa swa* heofones steorran
and *swa swa* þa sandcorn (*as the stars of the heaven and
as the grains of sand*)

4. PG. 70:

and he spræc to him eallum drym *swa swa* to anum (all
three *as to one*)

5. Job. III (0):

færd onbutan *swa swa* grimitende leo (goeth about *like a
roaring lion*)

Other cases: EH. 1, 542. 1247*. 1892. 2161. 2162. 3, 49. 50. 1584. 1902 B. 4, 778. Or. 122, 7. 190, 24. VPs. 2, 9. 5, 13. 62, 6. 7, 3. 9, 30. 10, 2. 16, 8. 12 (2). 17, 34. 35. 43 (2). 18, 6 (2). 20, 10. 21, 14. 15 (2). 16. 28, 6 (2). 30, 13 (2). 31, 9. 32, 7. 34, 5. 35, 7. 36, 2 (2). 6 a. 20. 37, 5. 14 (2). 38, 6. 12. 13. 43, 12. 22. 48, 15. 51, 4. 10. 52, 5. 54, 7. 57, 8. 9. 58, 7. 15. 61, 4. 63, 4. 70, 7. 71, 6 (2). 16. 73, 5 a. 5 b. 76, 14. 21. 77, 8. 15. 16. 27 (2). 52 (2). 65 (2). 69. 78, 1. 3. 5. 79, 1. 81, 7 b. 82, 10 (2). 11. 12. 14 a. 14 b. 87, 5. 6. 18. 88, 11. 30. 38 (2). 47. 89, 4 (2). 6. 9. 91, 8. 11. 13 (2). 96, 5. 101, 4 a. 5. 7. 8. 10. 12 a. 12 b. 27 (2). 102, 5. 15 a. 103, 2. 6. 104, 22. 106, 27. 41. 108, 18 a. 18 b. 18 c. 19 a. 19 b. 23 a. 23 b. 29. 112, 5. 113, 4 (2). 6. 117, 12. 118, 14. 70. 83. 176. 121, 3. 123, 4. 7. 124, 1. 125, 1. 4. 127, 3 a. 3 b. 128, 6. 132, 2. 3. 139, 4. 142, 3. 6. 12 a. 12 b. 143, 4. 147, 16 a. 16 b. 17. BR. 9, 11. 13, 1. 16, 16.

27, 10. 52, 10. 54, 10. BH. 9, 31. 29, 24. 32. 59, 20 a. 20 b. 91, 25. 211, 1. 235, 23 b. 237, 6 b. 29. DG. 55, 10. 11. 103, 16. 220, 25 a. 276, 1. POT. 187. 514. 708. PNT. 885. 888. AGen. 3, 22. 9, 6. 13, 10. 22, 17 a. 17 b. 23, 6 C. Job. 3, 11. 4, 3. Jg. 5: 32, 7 a. 7 b. 7 c. 13. 8: 28, 5 a. 5 b. 16, 3 a. 9. 12*. Wulf. 193, 2. 200, 15. PPs. 103, 7. 121, 3. 125, 4. LAS. 38: El. 35. 266, 21. 476, 12. ASHom. 3, 82. 104. 130. 380 a. 468. 4, 54. 6, 118. 8, 130. 9, 445. 10, 652. 11, 44. 15, 70. 18, 419.

III. SWA IN A TELESCOPED MODAL-CONDITIONAL CLAUSE¹⁴.

(1) In a complete clause.

By a telescoped modal-conditional clause is meant a clause in which the *swa* (as in NE *as*) serves both as a modal and a conditional subordinating conjunction. The Latin equivalent is *quasi*, less frequently *veluti*, *sicuti*, or *tamquam*. The *swa* in such cases means 'as if'; 'as it were'. Compare Chaucer: "And eek his face as he hadde ben anynt." The expanded form will in every case show both a modal and a conditional. "It looks *as if* it were broken" = "it looks *as* (it would) *if* it, etc."

1. WL. 24:

is no *swa* hit no wære
freondscipe uncer (*as if* it never were)

2. And. 501:

is þon gelicost, *swa* he on landsceape stille stande (*as if* it stood at rest on land)

3. Josh. 8, 15 (Grein):

Josue þa fleah, *swa* he afyrht wære (*as if* he were afraid)

4. BH. 169, 22:

þæt wæs *swa swa* ge hit me sylfum dydon (it was *as if* ye had done it to myself)

5. EH. 2, 907:

þa eode he in, *swa swa* he his hlafordes ærende seggan sceolde (*as if* he were to deliver a message from his master)

¹⁴ This construction is found also in the second branch of correlative pairs of comparison; for example, EH. 2, 1363. 3, 190. 4, 2593, 2660, 4915. Or. 30, 9.

Other cases.

With *swa*: Wand. 96. Cr. 180. 849. 1282. 1378. VPs. 73, 5b. 77, 13. 65b. Or. 92, 30. BH. 205, 1. 235, 4. EH. 3, 786. 2073. 5, 665. DG. 74, 5. ASHom. 18, 321. VPs. 77, 65a—b. AGen. 9, 3. 10, 9.

With *swa swa*:

EH. 1, 1302. 2, 869. 907. 3, 817. 1210. 3307. 4, 1287. 1398. 1411. 1438. 1477. 1481. 1588. 1702. 3209. 3815. 4135. 4619. 4662. 4792. 5, 370. 2751. 3132 B¹⁵. 3237. Or. 60, 8. BH. 169, 22. 29. AGen. 22, 9. Num. 14, 15. Deut. 32, 2c. 2d. Ps. 72, 6. 118, 83. DG. 66, 26. 200, 16.

(2) The same construction in an ellipsis.

1. Cr. 1283:

beoð þa syngan flæse
scandum þurh-waden *swa* þæt scire glæs
(as if clear glass)

2. Num. 12, 10 (Grein):

þa ætywde hrædlice on Marian scinende hreofnis *swa* snaw
(L. 'quasi nix')

3. EH. 4, 1386:

þa geseah heo swutule *swa swa* mannes lichaman mid
scytan bewundenne (as it were a human body)

Other cases:

With *swa*: EH. 1, 640. 2093. 2103. 5, 1497. 1628. AGen. 9, 3. 31, 15. Lev. 19, 33a. 33b. Num. 12, 10. Deut. 32, 10. ASHom. 11, 9. PNT. 1055. PPs. 77, 65a. 65b. DG. 276, 16. EH. 3, 2073. DG. 272, 16. Wulf. 37, 17.

With *swa swa*: EH. 3, 1922. 4, 676b. 1228. 1386. 1832. 3514. 5, 644. 1497. 1545. 1580. 2396. 2745. 3049. PPs. 70, 10. ASHom. 9, 149. 3, 104. VPs. 72, 7. 77, 13. Num. 14, 15. DG. 95, 18. 171, 12. 172, 23. 209, 11. EH. 5, 3132. AGen. 10, 9. 13, 10a. 10b. PPs. 105, 9.

¹⁵ The Latin has "in præfata insula, *quam* ipse uelut noua quadam relucente gratia ecclesiasticæ societatis et pacis Christo consecraverat".

The scribe of Ms. O ignores *velut* and renders *quam* by þæt; in Ms. B. *quam* is ignored, and *velut* translated *swa swa*, the parts of the sentence appearing in parataxis.

(3) As an expression of approximation: 'about'.

Gothic uses *swa* and *swaswe* in this sense, too; for example Luke 3, 23:

jah silba was Iesus *swe* jere þrije tigiwe uf gakunpai (and Jesus himself was *about* thirty years old)

also John 6, 10. 19. 11, 18. Luke 1, 56. 8, 42. 9, 14. 28. Mark 5, 13. 8, 9.

1. EH. 4, 499:

þa gehyrde he eft, *swa swa* ymbe healfe tide fæce (*about* a half-hour)¹⁶.

IV. NON-CONJUNCTIVE (Adverbial) CASES.

(1) *Swa* in the initial position¹⁷.

Normally, the *swa* so used is an adverb of manner. Frequently, however, it takes over the sense of a resultant adverb ('therefore'), or it may serve as a mere transitional link between clauses or at the head of a sentence. In such examples, the modal signification is so low that the *swa* approximates 'and'. In other instances, it is adjectival, usually in the capacity of attribute complement.

1. Beow. 144:

Swa rixode ond wið rihte wan
(*So* ruled he)

2. Pan. 55:

Swa is drykten god
(*So* is the Lord God)

3. Wid. 50:

Swa ic geondferde fela fremdra londa
(*So* I traversed many strange lands)

¹⁶ Modern English uses *so* after a number or an expression of quantity: 'an inch or *so*'; 'an acre or *so*', etc.

¹⁷ Morris translates *swa swa* in BH. 79, 1 as a non-conjunctive. So also Gardner in the case of DG. 14, 12. But both these cases can as well be taken conjunctively, and they should, for the use of the reinforced form as a non-conjunctive is exceedingly rare.

4. Cr. 645:

Swa se fæle fugel flyges cunnode
(Thus the noble bird essayed his flight)

5. DG. 49, 27:

swa he þa wæs onhyrigende on þam twam
wundrum twegra fædera mægnu
(so in these two miracle he imitated)

Other cases: Beow. 20. 99. 164. 189. 559. 1534. 1694. 1769. 2115. 2144. 2166. 2177. 2267. 2278. 2291. 2391. 2397. 2444. 2462. 3028. 3066. 3178. Wand. 6. 19. 62. 111. Wid. 131. 135. HH. 69. Ch. IV, 12. V, C—3. HP. 7, 18. 26. 39. 43. 51. 57. 68. 9, 5. 14. 49. 11, 6. RP. 21. 59. FS. 93. Gen. 297. 385. 509. VPs. 60, 8. Part. 7. Gen. 623. 819. 1630. 1837. Ex. 49. 194. 314. 519. 538. 377. 548. Dan. 334. 361. 487. 563 a. 583. 616. 753. Az. 49. 71. CS. 65. 126. 280. 514. 661. WC. 43. 47. 57. DM. 64. 93. FM. 31. PM. 110. MM. 21. Pan. 25. 69. And. 157. 493. 461. 524. 582. 692. 1053. 1149. 1245. 1393. 1455. Whale. 31. 62. Cr. 138. 681. 691. 746. 875. 972. 1204. 1260. Jul. 278. 376. El. 271. 306. 350. 436. 1145. 1277. 1290. 1311. Rid. 4, 67. 41, 14. Guth. 70. 133. 219. 323. 344. 200. 513. 554. 620. 623. 670. 739. 760. 771. 790. 996. 1105. 1276. 1370. 781. Ph. 104. 257. 350. 437. 470. 534. 583. SS. 315. 499. FA. 113. Ps. L (Cot.) 115. 135. 145. Jud. 28. 32. 236. EH. 1, 923. 2, 1376. 5, 747 (chapter heading). Or. 108, 19. Or. 112, 25. 114, 34. 142, 15. 26. 182, 26 b. 186, 18. 212, 29. PB. 3, 8. 4, 41. 5, 7. 12. 21. 7, 14. 23. 11, 40. 12, 18. 13, 14. 35. 51. 18, 8. 20, 171. 210. 26, 38. BH. 11, 12. 26. 31, 11. 19. 27. 39, 23. 41, 33. 43, 5. 57, 30. 59, 4. 83, 6. 71, 29. 93, 28. 121, 5. 123, 25. 197, 10. 131, 24. 45, 19. BM. 122. 209. 280. 320. 323. VPs. 62, 5. DG. 5, 17. 22, 6. 34, 29. 35, 17. 48, 8. 49, 27. 53, 9. 114, 2. 225, 1. 239, 31. 283, 27 b. 296, 12. 320, 13. 336, 23. AGen. 11, 8. 24, 11. 42, 15. Num. 11, 7. 22, 4 a. 24, 11 C. Deut. 32, 11 a. Jg. 6, 7. JEp. 23. PPs. 60, 6 a. 61, 4. 62, 4. 6. 63, 5. 64, 10. 77, 58. 86, 6. 92, 5. Wulf. 11, 8. 136, 8. 98, 11. 149, 8 b. 159, 3. LAS. 76: 42, 5. 112, 53 a. 138: 1, 3. 175, 4 b. 206: 1, 3. 334: 30, 5 b. 410: 4, 2. ASHom. 5, 56. 10, 19. 298. 14, 11. 18, 132. 300. PPs. 102, 14. 17. 105, 10. 33. 118, 15. 59. 76. 136. 164. 132, 2. 138, 11 a. 19. VPs. 60, 9.

(2) *Swa* in the interior position.

1. Deor 7:

þæs ofereode,
þisses *swa* mæg
(that was overcome,
so may this!).

2. And. 1562:

þæt is (her) *swa* eud
(*thus* it is manifest).

3. PB. 1, 13:

hi gelæstan *swa*
efne from muntgiop
(they *thus* did).

4. ASHom. 3, 149:

hi ðurhwunedon *swa* þurh his wissunge
(they continued *so* by his command).

Other cases: Beow. 1103. 1709. 2498. 2730. Deor. 13. 17.
20. 27. 42. Chm. VI, 7. Gen. 48. 588. 2106. 2598. CS. 61. 256.
464. Ex. 404. WC. 82. DM. 7. 88. RS. 55. El. 477. 588. Guth.
1219. And. 23. Cr. 148. 233. 323. PG. 49. Ph. 47. 140. 339.
405. Rid. 10, 12. 14, 6. 28, 16. 30, 6. 50, 9. BM. 132. DA. 20.
VPs. 62, 3. 64, 10. 127, 4. 147, 20. EH. 1, 1185. 1514. 2204. 2220.
2, 99. 250 (B). 357. 361. 972. 1260. 1391. 1444. 3, 135. 415. 529.
619. 635. 676. 1159. 2118. 2119. 2514. 2757. 2926. 4, 134. 144.
189. 386 B. 445. 1064. 1244. 1289. 2879. 5, 3177. 1318. 1413.
1666. Ms. B. 1716. 1987. 2114. 2461. 2681. 3159 B. 3610. 3625.
3626. 3753. 3764¹⁸. 3788. 4430. 4616. 4669. 5, 162. 221. 242. 251.
435. 584. 568. 1125. 1165. 1185. 1614. 1741. 1910. 1988. 2217.
2546. 2742. 2747. 2814. 2826. BR. 15, 11. 33, 2. 37, 2. 38, 12.
41, 6. 14. 17. 42, 10. 45, 10. 43, 4. 44, 12. 15a. 46, 18. 48, 7. 9.
50, 1. 58, 6. 59, 21. 60, 3. 7. 70, 12. 78, 7. 83, 5. 12. 87, 5. 101, 6.
103, 6. 14. 105, 1. 107, 3. 110, 3 (W). 117, 3. 119, 14. 129, 17.
133, 16. 134, 8. BH. 23, 3. 67, 12. 81, 23. 121, 17. 18. 123, 11.
129, 27. 143, 22. 153, 32. 155, 9b. 159, 19. 161, 23. 27. 165, 2.
167, 3. 15. 28. 169, 8. 12. 177, 30. 133, 17. 174, 14. 183, 19. 185,

¹⁸ With temporal implication. The Latin is *iam*.

26. 187, 20. 191, 7. 199, 9. 11. 215, 12. 217, 22. 221, 15. 235, 36 a. 36 b. 241, 20. 247, 1. 36. 249, 5. 23, 3. 35, 34. 39, 25. DG. 5, 17. 12, 16. 22, 24. 24, 28. 34, 29. 35, 17. 36, 21. 52, 24. 25. 39, 10. 50, 20. 54, 17. 58, 34. 59, 6. 16 C. 87, 16. 89, 6. 95, 33. 101, 29. 109, 15. 110, 13. 111, 15. 17. 115, 22. 31. 122, 19. 124, 7. 127, 24. 129, 3. 155, 7. 8 H. 185, 15. 191, 5. 192, 3. 7. 206, 15. 23. 213, 12. 216, 13. 217, 6. 222, 2. 225, 10. 226, 29. 228, 12. 232, 2. 234, 25. 237, 13. 238, 32. 242, 16. 66, 19. 75, 20. 27 (2). 77, 13. 78, 29. 143, 15. 146, 10. 243, 3 a. 244, 15. PNT. 899. 1077. 1068. POT. 9. 203. 233. 441. 535. 690. 758. AGen. 1, 7. 9. 11. 15. 24. 30. 7, 24. 12, 18. 17, 27. 18, 21. 19, 25. 20, 6 a. 21, 18. 22, 19. 24, 7 C. 25, 22. 29, 28. 37, 27. 43, 11 a. 44, 10 a. 15. 17. 47, 31. JEp. 19. AEx. 8, 26. 31. 10, 11 a. 21, 23. 23, 11. Job. I: 1, 5; XII: 4, 0; Num. 16, 18. 21, 7. 23, 27. 31, 18. Josh. 5, 8. 16. 6, 12. 7, 6. Jg. 3, 25. 4, 18. 21. 6, 2 a. 15, 19. 16, 3 b. 8. ASHom. 2, 84. 221. 3, 39. 149. 156. 572 (2). 586. 589. 4, 19. 45. 65. 88. 153. 158 b. 191. 206. 212. 5, 139. 157. 8, 60. 105. 117. 118. 207. 240. 283. 9, 42. 62. 81. 111. 278. 249. 279. 286. 292. 355. 10, 90. 13, 126. 184. 195. 15, 14. 50. 89. 131. 199. 16, 69. 244. 248. 316. 18, 49. 293. LAS. 38, 36; 74, 41; 210: 8, 1; 262: 4, 1; 88, 77. 90, 3. 94, 14. 102, 30. 126, 3 a. 164: 26, 1. 210: 6, 2. 8, 1. 483, 1. 262: 4, 1 b. 1 c. 1 d. 265, 36. 143, 19. 284: 4, 3 a. 320: 15, 2 d. 324: 22, 2. 442: 1 a. 4. 433, 1. 105, 37 b. 140, 12. Wulf. 15, 18. 22, 22. 23, 16. 25, 3. 33, 18. 50, 1. 55, 1. 4 a. 9. 15. 159, 3. 9, 11. 93, 1. 98, 11. 99, 15. 104, 2. 164, 21. 110, 16. 133, 15. 173, 4. 174, 4. 196, 9. 203, 26. PPs. 55, 6 a. 58, 4. 59, 9. 87, 15. 109, 7. 115, 2. 118, 116. 119, 3. 123, 2. 3.

(3) *Swa* in the final position.

Final *swa* often has substantive coloring: as subject (case 1, below); attribute complement (case 2); object complement (case 3); and objective complement (case 4). Usually the sense is that of modal.

1. Jul. 504:

þæt him bām gewearð
 yrmþu to ealdre and hyra eaferum *swa*
 (misery came upon them both, and so
 [i. e. 'the same'] on their children)

2. MM. 74:

Ne bið þam oðrum *swa* (it is not *so*
with the others)

3. SS. 2, 249:

ded iu gena *swa* (do ye *so* [i. e. 'the same'])

4. EH. 2, 646:

Sabane urum fæder — nemdon hi hyne *swa* —
(to our father, Saba — for they called him *so*)

5. POT. 602:

hine tocleaf on twa and hine acwealde *swa*
(clave him in two, and *so* killed him)

Other cases: Beow. 538. 762. 797. 1471. 2057. 2091. 2990.
Gen. 718. 993. 1493. 2832. CS. 22. 191. 701. SS. 300. 391. Guth.
576. 592. 854. El. 1014. And. 1323. 1393. Ph. 405. Ps. LCot.
121. EH. 2, 289. 3, 1697. 4, 1436 B. 2891. 3987. Or. 44, 15. 146,
33. PB. 11, 102. 20, 175. BH. 175, 36. 177, 4. 179, 2. DG. 6, 16.
79, 12. 127, 9. PG. 110. AGen. 4, 15. 15, 10. 18, 15. 19, 33. 21, 30.
22, 14. 23, 11 C b. 31, 26. 42, 10. 25. 44, 2. 48, 18. 50, 2. 47, 17.
AEx. 8, 24. 16, 17. 24. 26. 17, 6. Wulf. 12, 6. VPs. 118, 85. Jg.
4, 20. 6: 2, 6. 11, 33 b. 16, 18. JEp. 56. ASHom. 5, 6. 47 b. 10,
611. 614. 18, 168. PPs. 21, 26. 88, 45 (2). 89, 6 b. 71, 20 (2). 105,
37 a. 107, 10. 113, 5. LAS. 230, 9. 370: 84, 6 b. 414, 24 A.

V. PSEUDO CONSTRUCTIONS OF *SWA*.

(1) Adjectival *Swa*.

The only instances of *swa* used as an out-and-out adjective are those in which the meaning is 'true'. There is no reason for including in this group those examples in which *swa* is adjectival only by way of a fore- or back-reference, as in the following:

ASHom. 3, 149:

Hi durhwunedon *swa* þurh his wissunge
(They would continue *so* (i. e. 'believing in God') through
his teaching).

Modern English has many cases like the above:

As I am now, uncorrupted, *so* I shall remain.
Is the man daft? He is *so*.
Harrison looks *as* he feels.

Furthermore, it is not unusual for a Modern English word or phrase regularly adverbial to take on adjectival coloring:

How is your mother today? (i. e. *in what state?*).

as compared with:

How did he accomplish it?

also:

Things are *in a bad way*. (i. e. *condition*).

alongside of:

I have managed my affairs *in a bad way*. (i. e. *manner*).

Again:

The girls are handsome; the boys are *likewise*.

Here, although *likewise* may be taken as an adverb modifying an implied *handsome*, the ordinary speaker will probably think of the word as a predicate adjective.

Many times such ambiguity results from a slightly different construction being placed on the predicate verb. In the following, for example, *looks* and *arrived*, are in one case mere copulative verbs, and in the other, verbs with the action notion present.

The teacher looks *angry*.
The teacher looks *angrily* at his class.

My uncle arrived *safe*.
My uncle arrived *safely*.

Similarly, the verb *be* must at times be taken in a sense a little stronger than that of the copulative: 'to happen'; 'to come to a pass':

Gen. 1, 9:

And God said, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was *so*.

In the case of New English *so* = 'true', the modal concept has given way completely to that of quality or description,

although even here the modal origin of the construction can be felt:

It is not *so* ('true').

in expanded form is:

It is not ('does not exist') *as* ('in the manner in which') you affirm.

In the following pseudo-adjectival examples, then, the *swa* is equivalent to New English *so* = 'true'.

1. EH. 4, 1319:

Ic wat þæt ge wenap þæt ic ungewitte mode sprece. Ac
hwæþere witap ge, þæt hit *swa* nis.
(nevertheless it is not *so*)

2. BR. 78, 7:

gif se abbod þæt ongyt, þæt hit *swa* is
(perceives that this is *so*)

3. BH. 179, 2:

Eal hit is *swa*, ne leoge ic
(It is all exactly *so*)

4. ASHom. 10, 611:

Hu mæg þæt gewurðan, þæt þæt sy *swa*?
(How may it be that that is *so*?)

5. ASHom. 10, 614:

Nis þæt na *swa* (That is not *so*)

Other cases: EH. 4, 2462. BH. 175, 36.

V. PSEUDO-ADJECTIVAL *SWA* (cont'd.).

(2) *swa gerad* as the adjective pronoun 'such' ¹⁹.

The expression *swa gerad* is an Old English idiom for 'such'. Hall gives the following meanings for *gerad* alone:

1. conditioned, circumstanced
2. trained, learned, wise, clever, skilful
3. ready, prepared, diligent, active, quick, prompt
4. well-matched, well-equipped, suited, convenient.

He also lists *hu gerad* for 'of what kind'. For *gerad*, Grein-Kohler gives: *instructus*, *peritus*, *prudens*, *paratus*, *elegans*, *concinus*. To these Bosworth-Toller adds *consideratus*.

¹⁹ The regular word for Latin *talis* ('such') is *swilc*.

It would seem that *swa* was used originally in this idiom as an adverb of degree modifying a participle. This would be analagous to a similar construction with *dus*:

1. BA. 36, 30:

Dus gerad man bið mid his agenu weapnu yfele gewundod.
(*Such* a man as this [i. e. 'a thus conditioned man'])

2. Deut. 4, 32:

Axiad be ealdon dagum . . hwæder æfre gewurde *dus*
gerad þinge
(*such* thing as this [i. e. 'thus conditioned thing'] Cp.
Latin: '*aliquando huiusmodi*')
The examples with *swa* follow:

1. Boeth. 230, 16:

he wat hiora gecynd and hiora willan *swa geradne* þæt
hi for nanum ermdum ne byð no þy wyrðan (he knows
their nature and condition to be *such*)

2. BMC. 135, 4:

be *swa geradum* Sanctus Casianus cwyp
(of *such* St. Casianus spoke)

3. BR. 71, 9:

Geonge men for *swa geradum* gylte swingelle þolian
(for *such* offenses)

4. LAS. 448: 5, 4:

and fela ðinga *swa gerad* man sceal don
(many *such* things; 'L. *huiusmodi*')
5. Wulf. 55, 4b:

and ægðer hy derjað mid *swa geradan* dædan
(with *such* deeds)

Other cases: LAS. 18, 28 (xxviii). 66, 28. Wulf. 55, 6. BR. 121, 6.

V. PSEUDO CONSTRUCTIONS OF *SWA* (cont'd.).

(3) *Swa* as a pronoun.

Modernly, the word *as*, a descendant of *swa*, (*eal swa* > *alswa* > *alse* > *ase* > *as*) is used as a pronoun only under two conditions: (1) in an elliptical construction, either alone or in sequence, from which the pronoun has disappeared: *Rich. III* (ii: 4): "such news *as* grieves me to report" = "*as* (it) grieves me, etc."; "Aug-

usta, as will be remembered, had gone" = "as (it) will be, etc." (2) in low and broguish speech, a use harder to account for: Mrs. Jupp in S. Butler's *Way of All Flesh*: "It's that Pryer as I can't abide."

Careful investigation must convince any scholar that examples of indisputable pronominal *swa* are seldom met with. Old English lexicographers and translators have been too ready to render these pseudo-substantives as pronouns²⁰. Many of them give the clearest possible meaning if taken in the usual modal sense: Beow. 1396. Gen. 555. Dan. 157. PM. 3. El. 645. PPs. 64, 10. BH. 17, 4. LWS. 1, 224; others are in the correlation *swile* — *swa* or *gelic* — *swa*: SB. 103. 144. Dan. 62. Cr. 578, 13. LWS. 2, 192: 21 ff. EH. 4, 4765; one is in a comparison of equality, *swa* — *swa*, SB. 151; and one lexicographer lists a causal conjunction: (Guth. Gd. (Prol.) 4, 5.) Of the several remainder, may be translated as adverbs in the sense of 'according as' LAlf. 1: 16, 3. BH. 51, 26., others are worn-down correlative clauses of comparison, 'as far as', (see below, pp. 12—3 also E. A. Kock's article in *Anglia* 42: 102 ff.); for example,

Beow. 93:

cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worhte
wlitebeorhtne wang *swa* wæær bebuged
(quoð that the Almighty the earth wrought,
the winsome wold *as far as* the water encircleth it).

Similar instances are: Beow. 2608. Edm. 4. Or. 8, 2. Chr. 120, 15.

VI. SWA-COMBINATIONS.

(1) *Swa some (same)*.

The phrase *swa some* is probably an approximation of Latin *similiter sicut*, Greek ὡσαύτως, except that *swa some* is used non-conjunctively, more like *præterea* or *itidem*. In Gothic the phrase

²⁰ For a more extended discussion of this matter, see my article on "The Use of OE *swa* as a Pseudo-Pronoun" — JEGPh. 30: 6—20, January, 1931.

appears as *samaleiko swa*. At times the Old English combination is accompanied by *eac* or *efne*. It is not often found in the initial position.

1. MM. 7:

wil-gest on wicum and þone wacran, *swa some*
(a welcome guest in the dwelling, and a weak man, *also*)

2. Cr. 939:

and steorran *swa some* stredað of heofone
(and the stars *likewise* shall fall from the heavens)

3. Rid. 16, 2:

Hals is min hwit, ond heafod fealo, sidan *swa some*
(My throat is white, my head is fallow, *likewise* my sides)

4. El. 1277:

Swa þeos world eall gewited,
and *eac swa some* þe hire on wurdon
atydrede, tionleg nimeð
(The earth shall pass away and *even likewise* those
born therein a dire flame shall destroy)

5. Pan. 53:

deor *efne swa some*
æfter þære stefne on þone stenc farað
(animals, *also*, after the voice, hasten to that smell)

Other cases:

Swa some: Gen. 399. CS. 83. El. 653. 1065. 1206. 1283.
Cr. 1111. 1122. 1242. 1272. 1455. PB. 4, 26. 12, 3. 20, 150. 24, 33.
Or. 164, 10. PPs. 101, 5. DG. 257, 9.

Eac swa some: PB. 11, 5. 10. 86. 12, 11. 20, 6. 26, 64. 27, 11.
28, 56.

Efne swa same: PB. 20, 124. 28, 28.

(2) *Swa eac (eac swa)*.

Swa is found frequently reënforced by *eac*, either preceding or following it. The expression is seldom found in the final position. At times the phrase is broken up by intervening words.

1. BH. 91, 22:

swa eac for þære ilcan wyrde gewiteþ sunne and mona
and eal tungla leoht aspringeþ
(*so also* on account of the same event)

2. BR. 92, 9:

Swa eac se abbod foresceawige þa untrumnessa þara
(*So also* the abbot should consider)

3. PNT. 1017:

to sumum cnihte . . . done he lufode, and him *eac swa*
gelæste
(a certain young man whome he loved and *also* lost)

4. Wulf. 170, 14:

uton don *eac swa*
(let us do *likewise*)

5. BH. 35, 13:

swa we *eac* agyltaþ þurh feower þing
(*so also* we sin through four things).

Other cases:

Initial: DG. 40, 2. 137, 3. 233, 21. 261, 20. 269, 23. Or. 62,
26. 164, 16. 170, 7. 252, 15. 19. 254, 1. PB. 28, 34. 303, 13. 310,
28. 321, 26. 328, 28. 342, 29. BH. 91, 22. 97, 22. 225, 2. Num.
25: 0, b. LAS. 378: 6, 2. BRPro. 4, 4.

Interior: BR. 33, 19. 49, 15. 54, 20. 59, 3. Or. 34, 34. BH.
61, 10. DG. 2, 14. 177, 6. 211, 4. 231, 25. AGen. 3, 8. LAS. 44:
49, 7. PNT. 1017. EH. 1, 58. 3, 479. PPs. 94, 10. ASHom. 15,
282. 16, 54. Wulf. 80, 4. 99, 19. 104, 2.

Final: LAS. 140: 2, 1. 314, 10. 453, 1. 454, 10. 12. Wulf.
173, 8c. 170, 14. PPs. 72, 12.

Swa eac swylce: DG. 220, 10. 261, 20. EH. 5, 1707.

With intervening words: Or. 38, 3. EH. 5, 2913. BH. 35, 13.
107, 28. 123, 36. DG. 5, 17. 9, 4. 13, 21. 19, 15. ASHom. 3, 159.
409. 492. LAS. 34, 23. 50: 4, 2. 449: 6, 3. Wulf. 104, 2.

A few instances of conjunctive *eac swa* are at hand:

1. DG. 108, 10:

þa þa se ær gecwedena gegaderode hine sylfne to his
heortan for þam gedwolan his weorces, *swa eac* se æfter
gesægda apostol gecyrde to his heortan fram heanesse þære
gastlican sceawunge
(*even as* the last-mentioned disciple, etc.)

Also: PB. 11, 17. 20, 192. 199. Wulf. 119, 12. 164, 6. 192, 9.
LAS. 472, 22b. DG. 109, 11. 222, 17.

(3) *Swa forð*.

Grein-Köhler gives as the meaning of this expression, 'so fortfahrend'. It is found frequently, especially in Old English prose:

1. ASHom. 16, 275:

and *swa forð* seglode, oð þæt
(and sailed *continuously* until)

2. DG. 221, 7:

þe hi þonne for dam searwum *swa forð* geþungon
(on account of those assaults prospered *continually*)

3. Wulf. 14, 8:

swa forð hy wæron wið þa god forworhte
(they were *constantly* opposed to God)

4. Wulf. 110, 11 b:

swa forð ahte deofol geweald ealles manncynnes eal for
ure yldrena gewyrhtan
(*so constantly* the devil held power over mankind)

5. POT. 203:

and *swa forð* oð ende ælc halig fæder oððe wið wordum
oððe wið weorcum cyddon ure Hælend and his Fæder
witodlice
(and *so forth* to the end)

See also BMC. 134, 8. Cr. 426.

(4) *eal swa*.

Originally *eal* (*al*) is an adjective, which gets separated from its substantive and comes to be regarded as an adverb modifying a verb, adjective, or adverb standing near it. Thus in Wulf. 18, 2:

hit wæs þeah *eall* geworden, *swa* he sylfe wolde
(it all happened as he wished)

it is clear that *eall* modifies *hit*, but in AEx. 7, 6:

witodlice Moises and Aaron dydon *eal swa* drihten him bebead
(did *all as* the Lord bade them)

the construction is on the way to the inseparable adverb *ealswa* of Æthelwold and Wulfstan. So also in Chaucer: "For this ye knowen *al so* well as I,"²¹ and in James Thomson (*The Seasons*):

²¹ Cp. the ME *Physiologus*: *Al* is man *so* is tis ern.

“They haste away *all* as their fancy leads.” The NE adverb *also* is a survival of the emphatic form of this combination, just as *as* (once *ealswa*) represents the unemphatic form.

Other cases of the *eal swa* combination broken by intervening words are: ASHom. 18, 71. Wulf. 17, 1. 35, 21 and DG. 77, 13. ASHom. 18, 71a. *Eal* combines with *swa* in adverbs of degree in Job XVII: 42, 13. POT. 31 b. LAS. 294, 12a. 358, 71, and with correlatives of comparison: PB. 19, 38. POT. 31 a.

As a Conjunctive Adverb:

1. BR. 140, 18:

þa gebroþra him onlocian mægen, *ealswa* hit þurh þa halgan fæderas beboden is
(*even as* it is commanded).

2. ASHom. 15, 60:

and hire to spræcon, *eall swa* heom gehaten wæs
(*even as* it was commanded them)

3. AGen. 41, 17:

Pharao rehte Iosepe þa swefen . . . *eal swa* hit her bufan awriten ys
(told Joseph the dream *even as* it is written)

4. AEx. 32, 28:

And Leiges mægd dyde *eall, swa* Moises him bebed
(*even as* Moses commanded them)

5. Wulf. 75, 16:

gyf he woldon earnjan, *ealswa* se witega sang and sæde
(*even as* the prophet sang and foretold)

Other cases: EH. 5, 2246. DG. 119, 4. 116, 19. ASHom. 3, 380. 15, 71. 72 (2). 184. 9, 260. 11, 113. 12, 42. 16, 166. 17, 48. AGen. 41, 13 (2). 45, 21. 47, 11. 50, 12. AEx. 7, 6. 8, 13. JEp. 35. Josh. 9, 10. Num. 3, 39. Deut. 13, 2. LAS. 174: 1, 4 b. 212, 13. 240: 12, 2. 242, 19. 252: 21, 1. 25, 1. 256, 42. 264, 6. 265, 14. 15. 298: 17, 2. 318, 14. 320: 17, 1. 446: 3, 4. 472, 23. Wulf. 11, 1. 14, 11. 17, 2. 18, 2. 21, 5. 33, 7. 37, 13. 45, 12. 45, 20. 46, 3. 11. 17. 22. 23. 44, 2. 9. 16. 48, 4. 51, 13. 65, 23. 79, 2. 91, 19. 92, 13. 97, 22. 82, 7. 118, 2. 125, 1. 143, 17. 148, 27. 150, 4. 153, 11. 154, 30. 172, 23. 173, 1. 8 c. 177, 12. 191, 1. 13, 11. 167, 12. 170, 7. BR. 37, 8. 69, 4. 97, 4.

Eal (eall) swa is often used non-conjunctively:

1. ASHom. 3, 349:

Eall swa Iacobes wif (*Even so* Jacob's wife)

2. POT. 188:

þe wæs *ealswa* genumen to þam oðrum life
(*so also* was taken to that other life).

3. AEx. 12, 16:

Se forma dæg bið halig and seofoda byð *eall swa*
(and the seventh is *even so*).

Other cases:

Initial: ASHom. 3, 279. 362. 8, 175. PNT. 962. AEx. 22, 30.

J Ep. 5. Job VII, 7. LAS. 296: 16, 1. Wulf. 181, 11. 191, 1.

Interior: LAS. 262: 4, 1a. Wulf. 17, 18. 55, 1. 146, 11. WC. 43.

JEp. 15.

Final: POT. 476. LAS. 142: 1, 3. 222: 5. 5, 1. 254: 32, 3a. 294,
12 b. 378, 7. 230: 9, 1. 390, 2.

(5) *Efne swa (emne swa)* ²².

1. Beow. 1571:

leoht inne stod
efne swa of hefene hadre seined
rodores candel
(*even as* the torch of the sky shineth)

2. PPs. 61, 12:

demed, *efne swa* he wyrceð on worldlife
(*even as* he does in worldly life)

3. DG. 240, 22:

hi spræcon buton tungan, *efne swa* hi ær gewunedon
(*even as* they previously had been accustomed)

²² For *efne (emne)* used with *swa* in constructions other than simple modals, see Correlatives of Comparison (Gen. 2254. And. 333. Beow. 1092. 1223. PB. 26, 64. HP. 10, 42); *as-so* sequence (Cr. 329. Alms. 5); *swa þeah* (HH. 129. RS. 18); Result Clauses (PB. 13, 45); Compound Indefinite Pronouns (Beow. 943. 3057) and in Modal Ellipses (DG. 48, 7).

4. DG. 86, 8:

efne swa swa he gewunode þa þa he cwic wæs
(*even as he used to when he was alive*)

Other cases: FAp. 102. ASHom. 13, 122. 145. 206. DG. 118, 30. 139, 11. 187, 3. 179, 13. BH. 81, 19. 219, 30. 221, 29. PB. 13, 45. Rid. 4, 13. LAS. 470, 8. Wulf. 5, 9. PPs. 127, 5.

(6) *Swa þeah, swa þeh, swa þeana.*

In such phrases, the expression may be used as a strict concessive conjunction, but it is usually an adversative adverb.

(a) In the initial position.

1. And. 813:

Nu ðu miht gehyran, hyse leofesta,
hu he wundra worn wordum cydde;
swa þeah ne gelyfdon larum sinum
modblinde men
(wrought many miracles by his command,
although soul-blind men believed not)

2. Or. 282, 21:

swa ðeah he gefor on þære mettrymesse
(*nevertheless* he died of that sickness)

3. BR. 82, 1 (Wells Ms.):

swa þeah swidost þam rihtgelyfedum urum gehadum
(most, *however*, to the orthodox ones of our household).

4. DG. 33, 12 (Ms. H):

swa þeah ne scealt þu beon bedæled þære
oncnawennysse þæs eadigan Æquities lifes
(*yet* thou shalt not be deprived)

5. ANum. 14, 22:

Swa þeah soðlice ealle þa de gisawon mine mægn drymnisse
and ða miclan tacna . . . ne . . . gesihð ðæt land
(But *yet* [L. *attamen*] verily all those that saw)

This initial *swa þeah* may introduce a subsequent clause in a correlation:

1. EL. 498 ff.²³:

²³ Here I follow Grein, and Holthausen (*Cynewulfs Elene*: 90): *obgleich-dennoch*. Cook, Garnett, Kennedy, and Kent all make *swa þeah* head a new sentence.

swa he þurh feondscipe to cwale monige Cristes folces demde, to deaþe, *swa þeah* him dryhten eft miltse gefremede (*although* he in cruel malice had doomed to death and destruction many of Christ's people, *yet* the Lord had mercy upon him)

2. Ph. 565 ff.:

þeah min lic scyle on moldærne molsnad weorðan wýrmum to willan, *swa þeah* weoruda god æfter swylthwile sawle alysed

(*Although* my body shall in the earthhouse become corrupted, a prey to worms, *yet* the God of hosts after the hour of death will my soul redeem)

3. DG. 158, 30—1:

and *þeh* þe ne mihte his lif him on gereafian, *swa þeah* he awænde eallre þære hyde hiw

(And *though* they could not deprive him of life, *nevertheless* he turned from all manner of sin)

(b) In the interior position.

1. Beow. 972:

no þær ænige *swa þeah* feasceaft guma frofre gebohte (not any solace did the woe-begone creature find there *nevertheless*)

2. Gen. 2389:

sceal seo wyrd *swa þeah* forð steallian (Yet Fate will be further fulfilled).

3. Guth. 940:

he on elne *swa þeah* ungeblyged bad beorhta gehata (Yet in courage undaunted he awaited his bright commands)

4. ASHom. 3, 133:

ac hi beoð *swa þeah* on godes geladunge (but they are *nevertheless* in the generation of God)

5. Wulf. 106, 19:

ac se sunu wæs *swaþeah* swyðor on hædenscype gewurdod (but the son, *though*, was stronger set in heathenship)

(c) In the final position.

1. Beow. 2967:

Næs he forht *swa þeh* (He did not fear, *however*)

2. Ex. 339:

he wæs gearu *swa þeah*
(yet he was ready)

3. ASHom. 3, 94:

and heo is mæden *swa þeah*
(but she is a virgin *nevertheless*)

4. Beow. 1929:

næs hio hnah *swa þeah*
(she, *however*, was not mean-spirited)

Other cases:

Initial: Or. 80, 10. 164, 14. DG. 27, 2. 85, 27 H. 90, 30.
229, 8. 33, 12. ASHom. 16, 109. Or. 198, 15.

Interior: Beow. 2878. FM. 5. RS. 18. Dan. 581. And.
1250. Cr. 523. 1185. 1308. Rid. 59, 11. Edw. 29. PB. 9, 38 (emne).
11, 46. 15, 7. 19, 7. 20, 55. Or. 32, 19. 56, 1. 64, 27. 134, 16.
29. 140, 2. 146, 35. 160, 30. 226, 21. 242, 24. Guth. 110. 493. 940.
EH. 3, 1919. 1940. 3105 B. BH. 29, 34. 59, 30. 233, 20. DG. 6, 8.
13, 17. 23, 17. 32, 5. 54, 5. 57, 17. 60, 33. 66, 23 H. 87, 9. 106, 19.
108, 5. 118, 32. 122, 23. 123, 2. 127, 33. 132, 17. 148, 23. 155, 30.
166, 1. 174, 30. 187, 4. 214, 13. 26. 216, 8. 218, 1. 7. 219, 8. 19.
220, 13. 23. 231, 21. 24. 233, 17. 236, 6 a. 241, 10. 246, 2. 249, 12.
250, 26. 252, 1. 257, 3. 261, 18. 263, 13. 16. 264, 6. 269, 10. 16. 20.
270, 21. 272, 13. 273, 10. 14. 274, 7. 276, 2a. 279, 14. 281, 22. 283,
27. 284, 4. 22. 285, 14. 287, 14. 289, 27. 291, 8. 17. 295, 18. 298, 25.
297, 20. 303, 2. 329, 3. 18. 331, 12. 24. 332, 15. 334, 2. 335, 9. 337,
15. ASHom. 3, 94. 169. 170. 199. 251. 343. 367. 383a. 486a.
4, 105. 218. 241. 251. 282. 5, 98. 6, 98. 160. 2, 187. 9, 68. 270.
BR. 74, 21. Wulf. 2, 9. ASHom. 16, 84. 174. 240. PNT. 847. 1183.
1258. POT. (tile). 289. 710. 755. PG. 26. 51. AGen. 15, 14. 20, 12.
23, 15 c. AEx. 21, 19. Num. 14, 44. 25, 0 a. Josh. 9, 18. Jg. 16, 4.
16. Job 3, 4. PPs. 87, 17. 88, 30. 118, 157. LAS. 240: 12, 1.
252, 21. 294: 13, 1. RS. 51.

Final: Beow. 1929. HH. 129 (efne). Rid. 40, 27 (efne se
þeah). 66, 1 (se efne þeah). ASHom. 4, 107. LAS. 460, 10.
Ex. 339.

d) *swa þeah hwæðere* (*hwæðere swa þeah, hwæðre se þeah, swa þeahhweþre*).

1. Beow. 2442:

sceolde *hwæðre swa þeah* ædeling unwrecen ealdres linnan
(that lord, *however*, must depart from life unavenged)

2. Job IX: 2, 6:

Efne he is nu on þinre handa; *swa þeah hwæðere* heald
his sawle
(he is even now in thine hands; *yet still* preserve his life).

3. Wulf. 89, 24b:

and *swaþeahhwæðere* nis se man on eordanne se encgel on
heofonan
(*however*, there is not a man of the earth nor an angel of
heaven)

Other cases: Rid. 36, 11. DG. 332, 25. ASHom. 13, 80. Wulf.
13, 12. 89, 24c. swæþer = swa hwæþer: Finn. 27. BR. 66, 9. 99, 15.
110, 7. 111, 8.

(e) *swa þeana* (*se þeana*).

1. Guth. 110:

fyrest wæs *swa þeana* in godes dome,
(*yet* came a time by God's degree)

2. Rid. 59, 13:

life ne gielped, hlafordes gifum, hyred *swa þeana* þeodne sinum
(in life it boasts not in its lord's gifts, *yet* it obeys its
chief. -Thorpe)

3. Guth. 409:

No god wolde þæt seo sawl þæs sar þrowade in lichoman,
lyfde *se þeana* þæt hy him mid hondum hrinan mosten
(gave leave, *however*, that they might lay hands upon him)

(f) *swa þeah þæt*.

This phrase means 'in such a manner, though, that' or 'provided that'; (For examples see Conditional Clauses, pp. 63—65).

VI. *SWA*-COMBINATIONS.

(7) *swilce*²⁴ *swa*.

Horne Tooke (*Diversions of Purley*, p. 566) opined that *so*
(for *sa*, he thought) was the past participle of *sægen* and hence

²⁴ Cases like SB. 102. 143. Wulf. 197, 12—13. 18. 200, 9. PNT
1165. 1170. Dan. 62. EH. 4, 4766 are adjectival (from *swilc*).

meant 'in the said manner'. *Such*, he explained further, 'equals *so each*, that is, *in the said manner Each*'. Bosworth (*Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, one-volume edition, (1888), p. 72, t.) regarded *swelc* as made up of *swa ilc* (= 'the same'). On the latter element Bosworth is in error. The consensus of scholarly opinion of our day is that *swelc* (*swilc*) is made up of *swa* + *lic* and is to be compared with Gothic *swa-leiks* (= 'such'). The adverbial form of the word has been lost to Modern English, but the adjective and pronoun survives in N.E. *such* and in dial. *sic* and *swilk* (*swilch*).

(1) *swilce swa* as a conjunctive adverb.

1. DHR. 92 (with *eac*):

me þa geweordode wuldres ealdor . *swylce swa* he is modor
eac Marian sylfe geweordode
(*even as* he honored *also* his mother, Mary herself)

2. Wulf. 195, 24:

wundorlice wundra and ladlice, *swylce swa* næfre ær ne
gehyrede wurdon ne gesawene
(*even as* was never before heard of)

3. PPs. 147, 6:

He his cristallum cynnum sendeð
swyle swa hlafebrece of heofonwolcnum
(He sends his crystal kingdom *like as* a bread-loaf from
the sky)

Other cases: Cr. 92. EH. 134, 26 (Miller).

(1a) The same with intervening words.

4. PPs. 77, 27:

swa sand sæs . . . coman gefeðrade fugelas *swylce*
(came feathered fowls *even as* the sands of the sea).

Also Josh. 2, 12 and LAS. 30, 13.

(2) *swilce swa* as a non-conjunctive adverb.

(8) *gelice swa*.

a. As a conjunctive adverb.

1. Cr. 784:

we *gelice* sceolon leanum hleotan *swa* we wide-feorh
weorcum hlodun
(*even as* we have amassed it)

2. BH. 17, 4:

mid sode gefylde, *gelice swa* he ær þa þrowunge dyde
(*like as* he did it).

b. As a non-conjunctive adverb²⁵.

3. JEp. 80:

swa gelice Æthelstan, þe wid Anlaf gefeaht
(*so likewise* Æthelstan)

Also EH. 4, 2548.

(9) *anlice*²⁶ *swa*.

a. As a conjunctive adverb.

1. PPs. 123, 6:

Wærun ure sawla samod *anlice* nida generede, *swa swa*
neod-spearuwa of grames huntan gryne losige
(*even like as* swallows)

Also: El. 99. Ph. 243. PPs. 82, 10 a. 117, 12. 142, 4. 147, 5 a.

VII. SWA AS AN ADVERB OF DEGREE.

In Old English, one finds the counterparts of four types used in New English; namely:

1. Type A: Those in which a relative clause is implied, as a complement to the adjectival phrase²⁷:

I never saw *so* many toads (i. e. 'as there are here'). *So* preceding an adjective may be replaced by *this*, *thus*, or *such* a and before adverbs by *thus*.

2. Type B: Those in which the relative clause is expressed:

Pierce was not *so* able *as* he was handsome.

²⁵ PPs. 127, 3. FM. 24. Cr. 851. and And. 501 are adjectival cases (from *gelic*).

²⁶ Cases like PPs. 78, 2. 89, 4—5. 91, 11 a. 11 b. 118, 70. 83. 127, 4. FM. 18. are adjectival (from *anlic*).

²⁷ Fowler, in his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, designates New English *so* as in Type A. the 'appealing *so*'. He explains,

"The speaker has a conviction borne in upon him, and in stating it appeals, with his *so*, to general experience to confirm him; it means as you, or as we all, know."

3. Type C: Those followed by a clause of result: Greek is *so* hard *that* many despair of learning it.
4. Type D: Those in which the comparative idea has given way to that of the superlative: 'very'.

... a disinclination to recognize variety of authorship — a thing *so* common in Elizabethan plays — makes him insist on seeing 'a single author.' — J. G. Robertson: *The Shakespeare Canon*; pref. x. ²⁸.

Types B and C will be discussed under *Correlations of Equality* and *Clauses of Result*, respectively; no attempt will be made to distinguish between Types A and D, that is, between those of pure degree as against those of intensity.

(1) *Swa* with an adjective.

1. Beow. 591:

Secge ic þe to sode, sunu Ecglafes,
þæt næfre Grendel *swa* fela gryra gefremede,
(never had Grendel committed *so* many outrages)

2. Dan. 130:

Hu magon we *swa* dygle, drihten, ahicgan on sefan þinne
(*so* secret [a thing])

3. Jud. 126:

þa seo snotere mægd snude gebrohte þæs
herewædan heafod *swa* blodig on dam fætelse
(the . . head *so* bloody in that pouch)

4. ASHom. 2, 88:

bisceopas and mæssepreostas to *swa* mycelre gerynu,
(to *so* great a sacrament)

5. Num. 11, 15:

þæt ic ne sy mid *swa* miclum yfele geswenct
(with *so* much evil).

²⁸ Fowler (*op. cit.*) calls Type D the 'Paterine *so*,' after Walter Pater's style, and on this he remarks:

"The *so* is deliberately inserted before a descriptive adjective, and is a way of saying, at once urbanely and concisely, 'Has it ever occurred to you how (adjective) it was?'; it differs from (the appealing *so*) in being not careless and natural, but didactic and highly artificial."

Compare recent newspaper headline: "Shoots wrong man; '*so* sorry!' she yells."

Other cases: Beow. 347. 585. 1843. HP. 10, 20. SB. 15, 47. BM. 132. Finn. 19. Gen. 252. 253 a. 255. 279. 322. 373. 425. 467. 565. 579. 597. 663. 676. 708. 2095. 252 b. 253 b. 254. Dan. 172. CS. 469. 674. Gnv. 32. 200. Rid. 12, 6. 41, 25. Jud. 130. DJ. 87. Jul. 170. El. 163. 541. 644. 691. 811 b. 811 a. 959 a. 959 b. 960. Cr. 306. 501. 695. 1294. 1295. 1385. 1399. And. 710. 922. 1137. 1243. 1343. 1344. 1562. 1671. Guth. 431. Ph. 125. Whale 88. Part. 15. PB. 1, 77. 4, 12. 5, 5. 13, 45. 19, 46. 20, 119. 29, 87. Edw. 26. Or. 24, 25. 34, 7. 38, 24. 44, 12. 48, 5 (2). 50, 3. 58, 26. 60, 22. 72, 16. 32. 74, 7. 80, 16. 84, 8. 27. 86, 8. 88, 23. 118, 6. 124, 15. 16. 124, 30. 134, 12. 148, 16. 150, 7. 156, 29. 164, 24. 176, 11. 178, 24. 198, 32. 192, 29. 246, 31. 252, 25. 266, 23. 192, 29. EH. 1, 443. 444. 488. 661. 824. 825. 1072 (2). 1073. 2328. 2329. 2, 63. 92 (2). 137 (2). 138a. 463. 707. 709. 885 O. 1050. 1097. 1129. 1165. 1171. 1184. 1230. 1231. 1696. 1776. 3, 90. 444. 502. 704 b. 1427. 1624. 1644. 1696. 1863. 1999 (2). 4, 70. 730. 1442. 1443. 1998. 2622. 2660 (3). 2762. 3579. 3591. 3633. 4674. 5, 236. 251. 1029. 1058. 1898. 1907 (2). 2383. 2599. BR. 55, 15. 68, 11. 72, 6. 99, 16. 117, 1. BH. 215, 10. 21. 25, 3. 69, 15. 113, 28. 29. 135, 18. 24. 175, 27. 203, 2. 30 (2). 217, 20. 219, 13. DG. 1, 5. 4, 32. 19, 4. 22, 8. 44, 28. 46, 11. 12. 19. 20. 21. 49, 15. 70, 19. 78, 17. 81, 3 (participle)²⁹. 86, 2. 110, 28. 123, 5. 131, 33 (2). 140, 20. 148, 9 (2). 149, 31. 153, 27. 164, 20. 27. 171, 24. 30. 31. 174, 31. 176, 21. 181, 25 a. 183, 10. 185, 5. 186, 26. 197, 7. 202, 8. 203, 28. 206, 24. 29. 207, 11. 23. 208, 6. 214, 28. 216, 20. 222, 9. 224, 26 a. 211, 23. 228, 1. 233, 29. 234, 1. 241, 13. 243, 15. 247, 8. 15. 251, 19. 263, 21. 265, 9. 271, 14. 277, 28. 278, 15. 255, 15. 282, 6. 285, 4. 13. 286, 3 (part.). 291, 7. 13. 308, 24. 309, 22. 314, 25. 318, 24. 320, 1. 325, 25. 327, 4 (part.). 330, 5. 342, 26 (2). 343, 4. 344, 18. 346, 35. 347, 18. 19. PNT. 1178. 1180. POT. 31 b. 81. 91 B. 548. 680. 1178. 1180. AGen. 18, 24. 41, 38. 44, 7. BM. 33. 243. AEx. 16, 13. Num. 11, 22. Josh. 10, 14. Job 7, 5. 8, 5. Deut. 4, 8. Chm. I, 22. Wulf. 34, 6 (2). 96, 5. 107, 24. 141, 22. 146, 10.

²⁹ Occasionally *swa* is used to express the degree of a participle, but one must be on the lookout for the modal signification in such cases. See for example EH. 1, 2204. 2, 1444.

149, 4. 149, 8 a. 181, 14 a. LAS. 22, 21 (lxv). 32, 17. 176: 6, 1. 179: 8, 3 c. 183: 12, 1 a. 1 b. 198: 4, 1. 224: 8, 3. 244: 32, 4. 250, 12. 260: 4, 1. 274, 9. 16. 275, 18. 290, 7. 330, 30 (2). 456, 4. 460, 11. 462: 1, 1. 3. 214, 16. ASHom. 1, 215. 3, 156. 482. 4, 187. 5, 5. 47 a. 177. 8, 177. 274. 9, 21. 264. 265. 431. 10, 651. 13, 230. 231. 15, 129. 156. 18, 93. 94. 96 (2). 138. El. 779. 1047 (2).

(2) *Swa* as an adverb of degree with an adverb.

1. Dan. 233:

þeah þe hie *swa* grome nydde in fædm fyres lige
(so he forced them fiercely into the heart of fire)

2. El. 632:

Hu mæg ic þæt findan, þæt *swa* fyrn gewearð
(so long ago).

3. EH. 3, 967:

þær his hors *swa* hrade gehæled wære
(had been healed so quickly).

4. DG. 20, 32:

and he þa *swa* swiþe geswungen gewat swigende to his
agenre ræste
(being thus violently beaten).

5. ASHom. 5, 44:

and *swa* earmlice on ecnysse ne forwurdon
(and so wretchedly might not perish).

Other cases: JEp. 80. LAS. 381: 10, 1. Gen. 565. 583. 608. 620. 652. 674. 676. 1567. Ex. 143. HP. 7, 111. BM. 59. El. 641. 780. 939. 965. Cr. 312. And. 895. Guth. 1121. Jul. 73. DJ. 32 a. Ph. 108. 378. Rid. 70, 5. Chm. 1, 22. PB. 2, 6. 11, 48. 19, 40. 20, 88. 22, 49. Or. 34, 6. 33, 38, 18. 52, 10. 54, 5. 60, 22. 66, 3. 94, 31. 136, 28. 138, 25. 164, 21. 178, 16. 198, 26. 210, 7. 222, 15. 224, 26. 274, 11. 112, 27. 132, 24. 120, 2 (2). 3. EH. 1, 648. 936. 2, 138 b. 4, 3952 B. 5, 1009. 1010. BR. 76, 4. 134, 18. ASHom. 8, 218. 221. BH. 77, 26. 227, 8. 127, 28. 169, 5. 7. 185, 6. 199, 17 (2). DG. 8, 2. 9, 19. 243, 3b. 21, 32. 242, 2. 52, 31. 238, 8. 69, 20. 106, 3. 143, 22. 149, 25. 150, 13. 172, 27. 174, 22. 207, 19. 20. 209, 3. 210, 7. 222, 5. 225, 12. 227, 9. 17. 231, 3. 244, 14. 249, 4. 8. 255, 30. 261, 7. 305, 16. 330, 20. 343, 20. 350, 13. POT. 12. AGen.

27, 20 (2). 39, 9. Num. 22, 28. Jg. 7, 7. Job. 8, 6. ASHom. 2, 81. 4, 202. 266. 8, 218. 221. 16, 94. 13, 164. 120. PPs. 77, 60. Wulf. 49, 8. 55, 3. 83, 14. 84, 1. 85, 4. 107, 24. 110, 11. 190, 21. 195, 11. 197, 15. 201, 21.

VIII. COMPARISONS OF EQUALITY: *SWA-SWA*.

Here the first *swa* is an adverb of degree; the second, a conjunctive adverb. Occasionally, a regular modal clause appears to be a defective form of such a comparison: EH. 5, 1511: "and wide, *swa* ic geseon mihte" ([*as*] far as I could see). See also BH. 215, 21. AEx. 32, 13. ASHom. 3, 474. 13, 266. 267. and PPs. 88, 31.

1. Beow. 594:

gif þin hige wære, sefa *swa* searogrim, *swa* þu self talast
(*as* ferocious *as* thou describest them)

2. Cr. 1230:

swa fule *swa* gæt
(*as* foul *as* goats)

3. BR. 67, 8:

oðþe *swa* micel, *swa* þæs dæges lyhtingc geþauige
(*as* many *as* daylight will allow).

4. BH. 53, 4:

and *swa* feala earmra manna *swa* on þæs rican . . . sweltaþ
(*as* many poor men *as* die).

5. ASHom. 7, 86:

on *swa* moniga spæce *swa* þær monna wæs
(with *as* many speeches *as* there were men).

Other cases: Beow. 1046—8. 1283. 3168. Dan. 136—7. Az. 36—7. SB. 151. Gnv. 168. Or. 14, 27. 38, 24. 40, 1. 44, 12 b. 74, 36. 128, 20. 140, 3. 152, 16. 180, 7. 190, 7. 194, 15. 202, 22. 228, 32. 230, 12. 74, 36. 242, 34. 250, 17. 254, 22. 30. 270, 2. 128, 20. 140, 3. 152, 16. EH. 1, 788—90. 1888 b—9. 2, 659 a—b. 1363. 1502. 3, 189—90. 2182—3. 4, 248—9. 2034—5. 2593—4. 2660—2 (3). 2896. 2934 B. 4628—31. 5, 858—61. 3213—14. BMC. 138, 18. BR. 107, 6. 125, 19. 138, 8. PB. 8, 1. 9, 13 a—14. 16. BH. 9, 34. 53, 4. 75, 7—9. 79, 27. 103, 22. 117, 5. 137, 36. 147, 18. 24.

27. DG. 51, 18. 69, 11. 71, 27. 125, 34. 160, 3. 161, 22. 166, 15 b. 166, 15 a (part.). 177, 2. 188, 15. 208, 25 b—c. 214, 16. 219, 14. 234, 22. 261, 29. 320, 6. 334, 14. 336, 29. ASHom. 10, 256—8. 2, 151. 12, 29. 62—3. 74. 13, 246. 14, 64. 15, 223. 16, 39 c—d. 16, 320. 17, 27. 31 (2). PNT. 949. POT. 60—61. 225—26. 493 c. AGen. 13, 16. 23, 15 C a. 15 C b. 43, 12. AEx. 4, 6. 9, 24. 10, 6. 11 b—c. 12, 4. 16, 13 b. 21, 22. Deut. 1, 10. 23, 24. 28, 62. Wulf. 19, 3. 6. 79, 6. 86, 3. 95, 13. 96, 13. 101, 17. 105, 4. 32—33. 115, 14. 132, 21. 145, 7—8. 146, 9—10 a—b. 10 c—10 a. 149, 8. 152, 1. 160, 2. 185, 14—15. 202, 14—15 (2). LAS. 10, 9. 56, 12. 108: 43, 1. 122: 76. 76, 1. 2. 166: Pro. 2. 168: 1, 5. 171: 6, 2 c. 174: 1, 4. 138: Pro. VPs. 102, 12 (def.). LAS. 176: 6, 1 b—c. 179: 8, 3 a—b. 186, 1. 208, 2. 210: 2, 1. 212, 12 b. 224: 8, 1. 244: 32, 2. 306: 26, 2. 356, 71. 386, 3. 458, 7 a—b. Wulf. 191, 9—10. 192, 22—5.

Variants of this construction appear as follows:

1. *swa* — *swa swa*.

ASHom. 6, 81:

forþan þe on þam timan næs on þære þeode
nan deaþ *swa* huxlic *swa swa* on rodehengenne
(no death *so* vile *as* hanging on the cross).

Other cases: Wulf. 198, 21. EH. 3, 856—7 (2). 4, 2713—6. 4914—6. 5, 2869—70. BR. 63, 20—21. DG. 65, 17. 229, 10. PG. 94—95. Jg. 16, 19. Job. XIX: 42, 13. Jud. 67—8. ASHom. 7, 6. Josh. 11, 4—5.

2. *swa* — *efne swa*.

DG. 74, 2—5.

swa manegum styrenyssum beon onstýred . . . *efne swa*
heo fram manegum awyrġdum gastum wæs gehæfd
(tossed by *so* many motions . . . *even as if*).

Other cases: DG. 15, 31—33. 26, 28—29.

3. *eall swa* — *swa* (or *swa swa*).

Jg. 15, 19—5:

ac seo ealde gesetniss ys *eall swa* trumlic *swa swa*
se Hælend sæde
(even *as* sound *as* the Saviour said).

Other cases: ASHom. 12, 93—94. POT. 31a. LAS. 30, 12. 224: 8, 3. 383, 52. 53.

4. *swa* — *swylce* (*efne swylce*).

DG. 159, 27:

ac *swa* ansund hit wunode, *swylce* hit ut aworpen nære
(but remained *as* sound *as if* it had not been thrown out)

Other cases: Or. 92, 30. EH. 4, 4914—8 (Ms. B). DG. 12, 19. 74, 23. 105, 5. 9. 176, 24. 198, 26. 199, 4. 213, 11. 287, 4. 338, 17—19. Wulf. 52, 30. 59, 6. 123, 12. 151, 9. 302, 13. 17. BH. 95, 18.

5. *swide* — *swa*.

ASHom. 8, 104:

He het þa gearcian to heora gyftum
swide mænigfealde mærdæ, *swa* him mihte gerisan
(*as* manifold honors *as* befitted them).

See also: ASHom. 8, 322.

6. *swa* + adjective — *swa* + adjective.

DG. 100, 25—26C:

and on becom *swa* mycclu costung his lichaman, *swa*
mycclu se halga wer næfre ær næs onfindende
(*so* great a temptation *as* [great] the holy man never
before encountered).

7. *swa* + adjective — *swa* + adjective + *swa*.

DG. 201, 27—28:

and þær gemette *swa* manige wyrcende wyrhtan in ðam
wyrtegearde, *swa* manige *swa* he ær het spadena þær in
weorpan
(and there encountered *as* many roots in that root-yard,
as [many *as*] he commanded to be plunted).

Other cases: DG. 100, 25—26H. 265, 10—11.

8. *eac swa* — *swa*

EH. 1, 788—90:

and *swa eac* micel genihtsumnys wæstma on
Breotone land, *swa* nænig æfteryldo syddan
gemunag mæg. (*tantis . . . quantas*)

VIII. COMPARISONS OF EQUALITY (Cont'd.).

2. With the adverb.

1. Gen. 2412:

gif hie *swa* swide synna fremmad þeawum and geþancum,
swa hie on þweorh sprecad
 (so greatly as their evil tongues speak).

2. And. 926—27:

No ðu *swa* swide synne gefremedest,
swa ðu in Achaia ondsæc dydest
 (did evil as much as thou didst).

3. BR. 15, 1:

Swa oft *swa* ænig ding healices to donne sy
 (As often as anything special is to be done).

4. EH. 3, 2151:

þætte he *swa* swiþe swætte, *swa* he swolodan middes
 sumeres wære
 (yet he so strongly sweated, as if he were in the heat
 of summer).

See also: 2, 1767. 3, 1935. 2444. 3628. 4, 400. 674—5. 1328.
 1, 1888—9. 1712. 2713. 3856. 3935. 5, 542. 1881—2. 2495. 2944.
 4, 3703. DG. 34, 6—7. 59, 22. 106, 16. 108, 18. 20. 126, 16. 136,
 27. 138, 14. 24. 26. 139, 2. 200, 4. 202, 10. 210, 15. 212, 24. 222,
 11 b. 230, 18. 255, 27. 259, 17. 282, 25—6. BH. 33, 21. 125, 22
 (2). 93, 19. 127, 21. 219, 31. Or. 17, 11. 12. 52, 35. 76, 26. 120, 6.
 8—9. 158, 10. 166, 6—7. 256, 7. 274, 24. PB. 9, 13 b—14. 11, 16.
 16, 11. 20, 244. 22, 19. 35. 49. 29, 5. ASHom. 3, 508. 8, 202.
 9, 121. 122. 125. 12, 42. VPs. 103, 33 (def.). 145, 2. 77, 40. BR.
 60, 22—3. 91, 6. 109, 7—8. 120, 9 (Wells). Gen. 307. And. 190
 —3. 1234. Rid. 10, 6. POT. 432. 493 a. 493 b. AGen. 20, 13.
 31, 5. Num. 11, 31. Deut. 4, 9. 22, 9. Job. XVI: 42, 7. 8. LAS.
 68, 34. 232: 13, 3. 238, 6. 246, 35. 266, 26. 284: 4, 2 (2). 3 b.
 226: 9, 3. 398, 11. 447: 4, 1 a. Wulf. 12, 14—15. 24, 2. 46, 8. 89,
 24 a—b. 102, 15. 104, 18. 106, 28. 156, 11—12. 170, 15. 173, 8 b.
 190, 26. POT. 429—30. PB. 19, 38—9.

The adverbial construction, too, appears in various forms:

1. *efne (emne) swa — swa.*

Gen. 2554:

efne swa wide swa da witelac rede geræhton rum landa werā
(*even as far as that grim vengeance swept*).

Other cases: Beow. 1093. 1223. And. 333.

2. *swa — efne swa swa.*

DG. 15, 7—8:

and *swa swiðe* hi þære ea wætres hryne heom
ondredon, *efne swa swa* hit sum deapes plyht
(*as strongly even as if it were a risk of death*).

3. *swa + adverb + swa — swa.*

Or. 142, 5—6:

Swa oft swa Galli wið Romanum wunnan, *swa* wurdon
Romane gecnysede
(*as often as the Gauls warred against the Romans, so*
often were the Romans crushed).

4. *swa + adverb + swa — swa adverb.*

DG. 325, 21—22³⁰:

ac *swa swyðe swa* he wæs full þære uncyste, *swa swyðe*
he wæs mid oferhygdum onblawen
(*but so strongly as he was full of wickedness, so strongly*
was he puffed up with pride).

See also Or. 274, 10—11. BR. 111, 23—4. DG. 209, 15.

5. *swa — þe.*

JEp. 31:

Gif ænig leodscipe wæs ungewylde þam casere, þonne sende
him *swa fela eoroda, þe* mihton gebigan þæt mennisc him to
(*so many troops that [as] could subdue that people for*
him).

Other cases: ASHom. 8, 73. 18, 322. DG. 83, 16 C.

6. *eallswa — eallswa.*

ASHom. 15, 110:

And gif þu woldest me lufian and to minum godum þe
gebiddan, þe sceolde beon, *eall swa well eall swa* me selfan
(*then should it be to thee just as well as even to myself*)
Latin: *bene tibi erit, tibi sicut et mihi.*

³⁰ Such examples bear strong resemblance to the *quantum-tantum* type, see below, pp. 55—58.

7. *swa* + adverb — *swa* (with superlative).

Wulf. 143, 11:

eallswa oft, *swa* we oftost pater noster singað
(*even as often as* we [oftenest] sing the Pater Noster)

8. *swa* + adverb — *þonne*.

Or. 252, 25:

ær he eft Agustus *swa* micle bet getimbrede *þonne* hio
æfre ær wære
(*so much better than* it had ever been before)

9. *swa* + adverb — *swylce* (*efne swylce*).

DG. 280, 28 ff.:

þe þær syndon, hit reccad *swa* gewislice efne *swylce*
(*as wisely even as if*).

IX. *SWA* WITH THE SUPERLATIVE.

Verbs like *magan* are often modified by *swa* with the superlative of an adjective or an adverb; the construction is to be read as if the correlation were complete, like Latin *quam plurimi*, *quam maxime potest* or *quam potest*. In the *Laws*, and occasionally elsewhere, the complete construction appears; for example:

LAS. 210: 2, 1:

and ic wille, þæt woruldgerihta mid Denum standan be
swa godum lagum, *swa* hy betste geceosan mægen
(*so* guter Verfassung bestehen sollen, *wie* sie *als* beste
auswählen können. -Liebermann).

See also LAS. 212, 12a. 246, 35. 248: 3, 1. 268: 43, 1. Also
ASHom. 12, 62—3.

1. Dan. 227:

he wæs gegleded, *swa* he grimmost mihte
(*as fiercely as* it could be).

2. Guth. 1109:

Aras da eorla wynn heard hygesnottor *swa* he hraþost meahte
(*as quickly as* he could).

3. PB. 22, 9:

and forlæte an *swa* he oftost mæge
(*as soon as he can*).

4. Or. 260, 31:

þæt hie simle gegripen þæs liegendan feos *swa* hie mæst
mehten
(*as much as they could*).

5. BR. 78, 10:

ac ælcne tidsang gefyllan, *swa* hig betst magon
(*as well as they can*) Latin: *ut possunt*.

Other cases: Az. 166. PB. 27, 29. EH. 2, 715. ASHom. 1, 232. PPs. 74, 2. Wulf. 41, 1. 73, 21. 90, 12. 127, 12. 130, 8. 155, 31. 166, 2. LAS. 146. Pro. 228, 1. 242, 27. 265, 32. 308, 1. 354, 67. 477, 3. 479, 13. AGen. 45, 19. PB. 27, 33. DG. 212, 24 b. BH. 125, 22 c. Wulf. 90, 12. 13. 39, 8. 94, 14—15.

X. SWA IN WORN-DOWN CORRELATIVE CLAUSES.

Professor E. A. Kock (*Anglia* 42: 102 ff.) was the first to point out that comparisons involving extent can be expressed in-differently by *swa*; *swa swa*; *swa side swa*; *swa wide swa*; *swa wide swa swa*; and *þæs wide swa*. By this he means that the *swa* in El. 971. Pan. 6. Dan. 321. Gen. 2208. 2211. SS. 190. and the *swa swa* in PB. 9, 40. 16, 9 f. are equal in value to and have the same meaning as the *swa side swa* of Beow. 1223, the *swa wide swa* of And. 333 f., and the *swa wide swa swa* of PB. 16, 11. For example, he would translate Beow. 93:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| cwæd dæt se Ælmihtiga | eordan worhte |
| wlitebeorhtne wang | <i>swa</i> wæter bebaged. |

'*as far as the water encircles it.*' Elsewhere ("Old English *Swa* in Worn-down Correlative Clauses." — *Englische Studien* 65: 343—350 (1931), the writer has presented twelve examples in support of Kock's view of this matter. They are as follows: With intransitive verb. EH. 2, 1698. 4, 355. 5, 3392. Or. 17, 16. 20. Chr. 120, 15. and LAS. 10, 5; with transitive verb: Wid. 44; with absolute verb: Beow. 2608. Edm. D. 3. DJ. 13. Or. 8, 2. EH. 5, 3392.

DG. 214, 8. In the same article the writer shows that similarly *swa* is used instead of the full clauses of place and time. Of the former, And. 1582 is representative:

smeolt was se sigewang, symble wæs dryge
folde fram flode, *swa* his fot gestop
(after the flood *where* his foot trod).

Root (Yale Studies, VII) renders it 'where' er', thereby suggesting the sense of *swa hwær swa*. Other examples are: Rid. 88, 31 (Tupper). Beow. 1404. PNT. 1252—54. And. 1441. 1449. Jud. 102 (Hall). EH. 5, 1480—84. 1640. The *swa*-temporal clause appears in three different forms:

- a. *Sona swa* with a supporting adverb (not always *swa*) or an adverbial phrase in the subsequent clause.

1. EH. 1, 134:

sona swa hi ðæs landes lyft gestuncon, *swa* swulton hi
(as soon as they smelt the air of that land, then they died).

Like this are: Ph. 120—21. Chm. VI, 14. PB. 8, 1. BH. 37, 21. 173, 33. 187, 28. EH. 4, 277. 5, 506—8. DG. 11, 22. 19, 23. 28, 21. 29, 13 C. 30, 9—10 C. 31, 10. 36, 15. 37, 23. 46, 10. 27, 33. 49, 13. 62, 29. 67, 15—16. 72, 22. 82, 25. 84, 16. 143, 7. 15—16. 193, 5—6. 196, 9. 187, 28. 221, 22. ASHom. 9, 245—6. 18, 26—7. 92. AGen. 21, 19. Josh. 3, 13 (*rade*). Or. 118, 11. 158, 16. 166, 9—10. 222, 18. 230, 2. 262, 110—12. BH. 173, 36. 193, 5—6. BR. 13, 17. 67, 20. Wulf. 8, 5. 9, 1. 10. 22, 6. 100, 16. 154, 1—2.

- b. *Sona swa* without such an adverbial element.

DA. 14:

Sona swa he lande, on scype man hine blende
(As soon as he landed, in the ship they blinded him).

Others: EH. 2, 1617. BR. 19, 18. 20, 1. 61, 2. 66, 17. 73, 8. 83, 3. 101, 8. BH. 137, 3. 167, 9. 191, 29. DG. 11, 23. 392. 50, 17. 57, 31. 82, 2. 123, 9. 97, 8. 20. 111, 13. 115, 22. 121, 24. 131, 27. 149, 17. 154, 17. 156, 8. 163, 14. 164, 8. 165, 24. 167, 20. 295, 19. 159, 6. 180, 27. 183, 7. 195, 27. 196, 22. 198, 10. 206, 5. 208, 25. 212, 14. 214, 12. 221, 25. 222, 1. 230, 14. 234, 17. 235, 4. 242, 27. 244, 3. 277, 23. 279, 19. 293, 18. 211, 5. 302, 3. 306, 4. 14.

313, 5. 317, 7. 325, 6. 344, 17. 347, 32. Or. 7c, 22. 96, 14. ASHom. 11, 64. Num. 21, 8. AGen. 27, 27. 37, 23.

- c. With *swa* and *sona* separated by intervening words, the *swa* becoming 'as soon as' and the '*sona*' a supporting adverb in the subsequent clause.

DG. 37, 18:

þa semninga se ylca Iulianus *swa* (Ms. H: *mid þam þe*)
he geseah þone godes þeowan, he forseah hine *sona* for
his gegerelan

(Then that same Julianus, *as soon as* he saw the servant
of God, scorned him because of his attire)

Like this are: EH. 1, 701. 3, 115. BR. 126, 20. Num. 21, 8.
Jg. 16, 21a. PPs. 108, 25. 119, 9.

- d. With *sona* eliminated entirely.

El. 128:

flugon instæpes Huna leode, *swa* þæt halige treo aræran
heht Romwara cyning headofremmede
(es flohen jähling's der Hunen Leute, *sobald* den heiligen
Baum erheben hieß der Herr der Römer)

Other cases: Beow. 1667. Gen. 552. 574. 723. El. 207. Jul.
253. Ph. 41. 322. PPs. 101, 9b. 113, 3. Or. 116, 27. 198, 24. 27.
246, 14. PB. 13, 54. EH. 4, 676. BH. 209, 29. BR. 91, 13. DG.
29, 13. 36, 31. 37, 18. 156, 26. 238, 23. ASHom. 18, 51. Wulf.
16, 14b. 110, 11a. CS. 529. Or. 200, 20. PPs. 138, 11b.

XI. CORRELATIVE PAIR IN A MODAL SEQUENCE.

1. With strictly modal signification.

In this construction, the first *swa* is a conjunctive adverb; the second an adverb of manner. Either *swa* may be augmented as indicated in the following types:

(1) *swa* — *swa* (*swa swa*).

1. Gnv. 55:

Swa bið sæ smilte
þonne hy wind ne weced,
swa beoð þeoda geþwære, þonne
hy geþingad habbað
(As the sea is calm . . . so are people)

Other cases: Cr. 85—6. 109—12. Dan. 562b—63. Gnv. II, 168. EH. 3, 2095—6. El. 784—88. VPs. 67, 2b—c. 34, 14. 102, 13. BH. 9, 34. 31, 36. 57, 8. 10—12. 14—15. 135, 13—15. Ph. 646—50. DG. 201, 13. 48, 29 f. Deut. 28, 63. PPs. 57, 7. 67, 2. DG. 266, 19—20. PPs. 87, 5. 102, 13. 122, 3. 126, 5. 130, 4. 140, 9. Wulf. 10, 2—3. 56, 6. 192, 22—25. LAS. 112, 54a—b. 130: 2a—b—c. 3a—b—c. 4b—c. 178: 8, 1a—b. 244, 31a—b—c. 314, 8. 320: 15, 2a—b—c. 324: 20, 1. 328: 25a—b. 378: 8, 1. 396, 2. 3—4. 398, 10. Chm. V—A, 13 (def.). V—B, 10 (def.). DG. 47, 12 (def.).

2. *swa swa — swa.*

ASHom. 3, 304:

Swa swa wæter adwæset witodlice þæt fyr,
swa adwæsed seo ælmysse ure synna fram us
 (as indeed water puts out fire so alms puts out our sins).

Other cases: EH. 1, 709—10 (O). 1774—5. 1885—8a. 3, 420—22. 2123—24. 3258—60. PNT. 851—2. 1079—81. AGen. 2, 19. Wulf. 192, 22—5. Job. VI, 1:21. XII, 7:1. XIII, 4. ASHom. 1, 130—32. 3, 304—5. VPs. 34, 14c—d. 57, 10. 82, 15—16. 102, 15b—c. 122, 2a—b—c. 126, 4. 130, 2. 138, 12b. DG. 151, 21—28. 176, 8—9. 264, 19. 268, 17—18. 269, 4—6. EH. 1, 1609—12.

3. *efne swa — swa.*

Alms 5—8:

Efne swa he mid wætre þone weallendan
 leg adwæsce, þæt he leng ne mæg
 blac byrnende burgum sceððan
swa he mid ælmessan ealle toscufed
 (Even as one who doth . . lay and quickly drown the
 raging flames, so he).

Other cases: Cr. 330—32. BH. 221, 12—13. ASHom. 13, 225—26. BH. 75, 7—9.

4. *swa swa (swa) — swa eac.*

Josh. 1, 5:

swa swa ic wæs mid Moyse, *swa* ic beo *eac* mid þe
 (as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee also).

Other cases: DG. 47, 11 (def.). 150, 20—21. 250, 7—9. 303, 14—15. 333, 19—21. 334, 6.

5. *swa — swa eac swylce*.

DG. 270, 13—15:

sodlice *swa* se ælmihtiga God toediende . . . *swa eac swylce*
þa ylcan ungesewenlican gefyllende onstyriad
(truly *as* Almighty God inspires . . . *even likewise*).

Also: DG. 270, 22—23. 286, 17—19. EH. 4, 4539—44 O.
Wulf. 125, 10.

6. *ealswa — swa*.

Wulf. 24, 20:

fordam, *ealswa* þa godan habbað ece lif on myrhde, *swa*
habbað þa yfelan
(*as* the good have everlasting life . . . *so* the wicked)

Other cases: DG. 345, 11—12. Wulf. 35, 5—6. 193, 12—16.
LAS. 439, 23.

7. *ealswa — swa eac*.

BR. 15, 16—17:

Ac *ealswa* hit gerised þæt þa geongran þam ylðrum
hyren, *swa eac* geriseþ
(and *just as* it is becoming that the young obey the old,
so also it is becoming).

Also: Wulf. 91, 2—3.

8. *ealswa — ealrihte swa*.

BR. 131, 12:

Eal swa yfel biternesse anda and æfst ascyred fram Gode
and læt to helle, *ealrihte swa* god anda
(*Just as* evil bitterness of spirit and enviousness separate
from God and leads to hell, *even so*)

9. *swe — swe and*.

VPs. 47, 9:

swe we geherdun, *swe and* gesegun
(*as* we have heard, *so also* we have seen).

The Latin is *sicut — ita et*.

10. *þæt* — *swa*.

EH. 4, 3764:

and *þæt* for intingan þæs godcundan eges æne side for his scylde onbryrdeð ongan, *swa* he eft for intingan þære godcundan lufan lustfullgiende þam ecum medum medum fæstlice forðgelæste
(and *as* on account of the fear of God he had begun the course . . . so he . .)

11. *swa* (*swa*) — (*eac*) *swilce*.

EH. 4, 3627—3631:

þæt he, *swa* heahhlutrum mode and bilewitum and smyltre willsumnesse Drihtne þeowode, þæt he *eac swilce* swa smyltum deade of middangearde gewat
(that he, *as* he had served the lord with a simple and pure mind, *likewise* with an equally serene death departed this earth).

Also: EH. 4, 4540—3 B. DG. 44, 16. 159, 27.

In the following example, an *and* has obtruded, so that, although the sense of the clauses is plainly that of a modal correlative pair, the form is that of two co-ordinate independent clauses. The Latin has a weak hypotaxis by way of *etiam*.

EH. 4, 2057 ff.:

Betwih ða twa hund teontig and fiftig ðara manna esna and mennena wæron gefullode; and ealle þa *swa swa* he þurh fullwihte fram deofles þeowdome gehælde, and *eac swilce* mennisce þeowdome onlÿsde and hi gefreode
(Among whom were two-hundred fifty bondsmen and bondswomen, all of whom he saved by baptism from slavery to the devil, and *in like manner* by giving them their liberty, set them free from slavery to man. -Sellers)

Latin version:

inter quod, seruos et ancillas ducentos quinquaginta; quos omnes *ut* baptizando a seruitute dæmonica saluauit, *etiam* libertate donando humane iugo seruitutis absoluit.

The construction may appear in reversed order: 'so-as':

1. *swa* — *swa* (*swa*).

EH. 2, 1056:

þæt he *swa* don wolde *swa* he hine bæd
(would do so *as* he asked him)

Other cases: VPs. 118, 85. EH. 4, 189. 587—8. 1668. 1698. DG. 193, 11. 186, 1. 194, 2. 273, 22. 233, 28. 243, 14. 330, 24. 337, 18. 341, 33. PG. 20—21. AGen. 16, 2. 43, 11. Num. 17, 7. 11. Josh. 6, 23. 10, 22. Job. III, 1. PPs. 118, 85. ASHom. 9, 340. 13, 4. 1, 123. LAS. 62: 23, 2. 181, 10. 182, 10. 182, 11a—b. c—d. e—f. 254, 32. 258, 50b—c. 396: 3, 1. 2. 3. 4. 400, 2. 479, 14. BR. 60, 12. Wulf. 132, 6. BH. 31, 36.

2. *eac swa — swa swa.*

EH. 4, 1507:

and *eac swa* wæs, *swa swa* heo bæd
(and it was *even so* as she had bidden).

3. *swa eac — swa.*

Wulf. 68, 7:

and *swa* don *eac* georne, *swa* se halga gast lærd
(do *even so*, as the Holy Spirit teaches).

4. *eac swa — ealswa.*

Wulf. 173, 7—8:

ute don *eac swa ealswa* hi dydon
(let us do *even so*, *even as* they did).

5. *swa — swylce* (efne swylce).

DG. 12, 19:

ac gyt nu todæg he hangaþ *swa* hreosende *swylce* he
feallan wylle
(and it even yet today hangs *thus* hanging as if it
would fall).

Other cases: Or. 92, 30. DG. 44, 16. 112, 12. 220, 15—16. 222, 2—3.

6. *ealle swa — swa.*

LAS. 177, 7a—b:

we wæron ealle *swa* on anum freondscipe *swa* on anum
feondscipe
(we were *even so* in one friendship as we were in one
enmity).

7. *eac swylce* — *swa swa*.

ASHom. 5, 128—130:

þurh yfele men *eac swilce* wæs hwilon seo witegung
gefremmed, *swa swa* wæs þurh ... þone Chaldeiscan cyning
Nabochodonossor
(by evil men *likewise* was the prophet whilom beguiled,
even as, etc.).

XI. CORRELATIVE PAIR IN A MODAL SEQUENCE
(cont'd.).

2. For NE 'the-the'; Latin 'quantum-tantum'.

(a) With single *swa*; the other implied.

Modern English adverbial *the* (OE *þe* or *þy*), as is commonly known, was originally a substantive, the instrumental case of the demonstrative pronoun. The earliest case of it in a correlation of comparison, according to the NED, appears in 897 (in the *Gregory's Pastoral Care* of Alfred).

But prior to that date, and long after, the adverb *swa* was used in the same capacity, first single *swa*, later the correlative pair. The single *swa* is usually found between two adverbs of the comparative degree or positives with intensive quality. In such cases the comparison is made by way of a modal, either conjunctive or non-conjunctive³¹.

1. Beow. 1854:

Me þin modsefa licad leng *swa* wel, leofa Beowulf
(Thy spirit pleases me *the* longer, *the* better) 'longer, so
very much'

2. Gen. 989:

of þam twige siddan ludon ladwende leng *swa* swidor
(von diesem Zweige nachmals sprosstes auf, leidige, *je*
länger *je* heftiger. -Bouterwek) 'longer, so more deadly'.

³¹ Cp. Samuel Johnson: *Rasselas*: '... this was one of those sages whom he should understand less, *as* he heard him longer.'

3. LWS II: 34, 16:

Wiþ eagna ece genim þa readan hofan awyl on surum
spatum oþþe on surum ealap and beþe þa eagan on þam
baþe betere *swa* oftor.

(For ache of eyes, take the red hove, boil it in sour beer
or in sour ale and bathe the eyes, *the* oftener *the* better
-Cockayne) 'better, *as* oftener'³²

4. BH. 121, 36:

Hwæt we witon þæt æghwylcum men biþ leofre *swa* he
hæbbe holdra freonda ma

(Forsooth, we know that every man is *the* happier, *the*
more friends he has) 'more happy, according as he has
more friends').

(b) In the full *swa* — *swa* sequence.

In Latin, too, the modal pair is sometimes found instead
of the more frequent *quantum-tantum* (*quanto-tanto*) sequence.

Caec. 7³³:

ut quaeque res est turpissima, *sic* maxime vindicanda est
(*the* more disgraceful a thing is, *the* more emphatically
does it call for punishment).

This would appear to be the arrangement first used in Old
English, except that the comparative, not the superlative, was used.
As late as the seventeenth century, a close approximation to Latin
quantum-tantum is noticeable:

1. Jeremy Taylor — *Holy Living* (1650);

'... *in what degree* we despise our sensual pleasure ...
in the same degree we shall conclude our heart right to
religion'.

2. Wilson: translation of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1688):

'each .. believes herself *so much* nearer to the gods, *by*
how much the longer train she trails after her'.

Occasionally the hybrid construction is found:

³² A vestige of this construction has come down to Modern
English: 'You will become more skilful, *as* you work longer' as com-
pared with the more regular construction: '*The* longer you work, *the*
more skilful you will become.'

³³ Quoted by Lane: *Latin Grammar* § 1939.

3. Jeremy Taylor (op.cit.):

'... which it is *the* more likely we have secured *by how much* more we are indifferent concerning the success'.

Old English examples of the *swa* — *swa* comparative are:

1. BH. 15, 19:

and *swa* hie him swyþor styrdon, *swa* he hludor cleopode
(*the* more they restrained him, *the* louder he cried).

2. ASHom. 4, 162:

ac *swa* man mare swincð, *swa* man maran mede hæfd
(but *as* [to the degree to which] man labors more,
so [to that degree] he has greater reward)
'*the* more man labors, *the* greater reward he has'.

3. AEx. 1, 12:

Swa hig swider wæron geswencte, *swa* wæron hig hig
swidor gemenigfild and weoxon
(But *the* more they were afflicted, *the* more multiplied and
grew) Latin: 'quanto-tanto'.

Other cases: Or. 18, 29. EH. 1, 31—2. BMC. 135, 15b—16.
BH. 35, 32—33. AB. 160, 8. 204, 15. DG. 23, 27—29. 41, 15—18.
56, 24—27. 63, 13—15. 74, 17—19. 116, 21—2. 177, 12—13.
224, 3. 238, 6—8. 258, 24—25. 315, 5—6. Or. 20, 22. BMC. 138,
24. GPC. 191, 10. AEx. 19, 19. ASHom. 3, 389—90. Wulf. 79,
13. 83, 10. 91, 10—11. 104, 7. 71, 17. 155, 7—8. 13—14. 156.
6a—b. 180, 1. 180, 13—14. 189, 6. LAS. 188, 5. 258, 52. 338:
38, 1. 454, 1.

(c) With complete correlation of equality in the antecedent clause and a single *swa* in the subsequent.

This is a further refinement of the construction described in (b). Instead of a mere adverb of degree in the first branch of the sentence, a complete correlation of equality is used, a *swa* heading the subsequent clause to gather up the comparative idea. Here is an example of it in Modern English:

Annie Besant — Autobiography 1893:

'So surely *as* from the sown corn rises the wheat-ear, *so*
(i. e. *so* surely) from the sowing of misery, filth, and
starvation, shall arise crime'.

The Old English examples may admit of a 'the-the' translation (as in No. 1, below) or only approximate it (as in No. 2).

1. EH. 2, 1395—7:

forþon *swa* micle *swa* ic geornlicor on þam bigange þæt
sylf soð sohte, *swa* ic hit læs mette
(because *the more* [*as much as*] I sought after truth
itself, *the less* [*so less*] I found it) Latin: *quanto-tanto*.

2. Or. 38, 18:

swa swyde *swa* hi ær Moyse and hys folce þæs utfærelde
wyrndon, *swa* micle hy wæron geornran þæt hi him fram fulgen
(*as much as* they before had forbidden Moses and his
people to depart from Egypt, *so much* were they the more
desirous that they should depart from them.)

Other cases: Or. 38, 18. 182, 25. 246, 8—9. EH. 3, 2095—
2097 (Miller). 5, 1934—40. BR. 125, 19—20. BH. 95, 31—33.
185, 5—6. DG. 41, 15—18. 121, 11—12. 130, 3. 188, 11—12.
205, 3—4. 209, 27—31. 284, 7—8. 285, 27—28. 324, 20. 325,
21—22. 330, 24—26. 335, 22—23.

XI. CORRELATIVE PAIR IN A MODAL SEQUENCE

(cont'd.).

(3) *swa* — *swa* for 'either-or'.

1. SB. 7:

þæt se gast nimeð at gode sylfum *swa* wite *swa* wuldor
(Latin: aut poenam aut gloriam)³⁴.

2. El. 606a—b:

þe synt tu gearu *swa* lif, *swa* death
(*either* life *or* death -Hall).

3. BR. 66, 9:

On ælene timan *swa* sy gefadod, swaþær hit sy, *swa* an
mæl *swa* twa
(Latin version: 'sive—sive').

³⁴ In the Grein translations this *swa-swa* is almost invariably rendered 'wie — so'; in the English translations, 'either-or' is preferred.

4. ASHom. 4, 253:

hit bið gewrecen gewislice on him, *swa* ær, *swa* lator,
locahu god wylle
(*either* sooner *or* later).

Other cases: Cr. 590 ff. (6). BR. 99, 15. BH. 23, 6. ASHom.
1, 84. LAS. 52, 7a—b. 76: 42, 42, 4a—b. 150: 1, 5. 177: 6, 3b—c.
164, 24a—b. 179: 8, 4c—d. 183: 12, 1d—e. 184, 1a—b. 204: 7, 1.
216: 1, 3. 230, 6b—c. 288: 5, 4. 346, 49a—b—c. 387, 5, 2b. LAS.
140: 1, 5b—c. 178: 8, 1a—b. 388, 2. Wulf. 5, 13—14a. 108, 10 f.
136, 7. 8b—c. 170, 20. 173, 14—15.

(4) *swa* — *swa* for 'whether — or'.

1. El. 324 ff.:

þæt hio þære cwene oncwedað meah-ton *swa* tiles *swa* trages
(*whether* of good *or* of evil. -Kennedy)

2. Or. 106, 13:

on swelc healfe swelce hie ðonne winnende beon woldan,
swa suþ, *swa* nord, *swa* east, *swa* west
(*whether* south *or* north *or* east *or* west)

3. EH. 3, 303:

and *swa* hwær *swa* he com, and *swa* hwylcne *swa* he
geseah, *swa* ricne *swa* heanne, þonne cyrde he to þam
(Latin: 'vel . . vel')

4. BR. 111, 8³⁵:

hig beon, *swa* sacerhades *swa* clerichades
(*whichever* they are, *whether* of the priesthood *or* of the
clerkhood)

Also EH. 5, 1013. LAS. 332: 30, 2.

(5) *swa* — *swa* for 'both — and'.

1. BH. 101, 30:

and we þonne beoþ standende beforan Drihtnes þrymsetle
and anra manna gehwylc sceal forþberan *swa* god *swa*
yfel *swa* he ær dyde
(and we then shall stand before the throne of God, and
each man shall produce *both* the good *and* the evil that
he previously did. -Morris).

³⁵ In the Wells Fragment *þe—se* is used here.

But in the above one sees, as in the 'either — or' cases, the ear-marks of an *as* — *so* correlation. Would not the following, except for the desirable quality of smoothness, be a more exact rendering than that of Morris?

'*as* he shall produce the good, *so* he shall produce the evil, according as he has done them previously'.

XII. *SWA* AS A SINGLE CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTION.

Such cases, too, are actually modals that have been forced to perform the accretive function. Those like No. 1 are defective correlative pairs; like No. 2, conjunctive modals; like No. 3 interrogative adverbs; and like No. 4, result conjunctions.

1. Dan. 645:

bætte god sealde gumena gehwīlcum welan *swa* wite, swa he wolde sylf
(dealeth to every man weal *or* woe)
Bouterwek: '*so* Reichthum *wie* Züchtigung'.

2. Jul. 87:

Dem þu hi to deaðe, gif þe gedafen þince, *swa* to life læt, swa þe leofa sy
(Condemn her to death *or* let her live -Gollancz).

3. EH. 5, 747 (chapter heading):

Dæt Ceadwala Westseaxna cyning to gefulliane com to Rome. *Swa* eft his æfterfyligend Ine ða ylcan þærsewaldas þara eadigra apostola eft gesohte
(. . came to Rome, *and* his successor . . journeyed [-Sellars]
[Latin: '*sed et*']).

4. Or. 260, 18:

and æt þam geate oftredd, *swa* nan mon nyste hwonon sio wroht com.
(trodden down at the gate, *and* no one knew whence the dispute came. -Pauli-Thorpe).

See also LAS. 445, 2. PPs. 72, 17. Or. 252, 21. ASHom. 10, 298.

XIII. *SWA* IN CAUSAL CLAUSES.

Latin sometimes has the modal conjunction in a causal capacity. Lane cites Plautus *MG* 975 (*Latin Grammar*: § 1946):

quin tu illam iube abs te abire quo lubet; *sicut* soror
eius huc gemina venit Ephesus

(why, bid her go away from you wherever she may choose,
since her twin sister here to Ephesus has come).

This construction, Lane remarks, is found only once or twice. In Modern English, the use of *as* in a causal sense is more colloquial than literary. In Old English, the use of *swa* in that capacity is fairly frequent.

1. Beow. 1142:

he to gyrenwraece swiðor þohte þonne to sælade, gif
he torngemot þurhteon mihte, þæt he Eotena bearn inne
gemunde. *Swa* he ne forwyrnde woroldrædenne þonne him
Hunlafing hildeleoman billa selest on bearm dyde³⁶.

(... in which he would be mindful of the children of the
Euts, *since* he did not prevent his lord when he [Hnæf]
laid in his [Hengest's] lap Hunlafing, the battle-gleamer, etc.

-Malone: JEGPh XXV, 158—9)

2. And. 937:

Aris nu hrædlice, ræd ædre ongit, beorn gebledsod, *swa*
þe beorht fæder geweordad wuldorgifum to widan aldre
(take rede .. *for* the bright Father shall honor thee).

3. BH. 225, 23:

and his mod wæs onstýred mid þæm heora wordum
swa he wæs manna mildheortost
(*since* he was the most mild-hearted of men)

4. PNT 1031:

ac he weard gescild þurh Godes mihte and mid halum
lichaman of þam bade eode, *swa swa* he unwemme wæs
fram flæsclicum lustum and fulre galhysse
(and came forth from that bath, *for* he was pure and
free from fleshly lusts).

³⁶ In JEGPh XXV, 159 Malone emends *woroldrædenne* to *woroldrædende* and uses a comma after *gemunde*. In *Anglia* 53: 336, he dismisses his former emendation of *woroldrædenne* as needless. See also the present writer, in *Collitz Studies*, pp. 159—175.

Other cases: Beow. 881. 2184. PPs. 55, 6b. HP. 7, 35. 116. 123. Gen. 288. 910. 1019. Dan. 669. Cr. 142. And. 327. 1116. BH. 97, 11. 121, 14. 131, 18. 133, 20. 201, 16. 219, 12. 135, 13a. Or. 86, 15. PNT. 1190. ASHom. 3, 31. 13, 233. 236. 18, 18. DG. 130, 26. 198, 24. 254, 16. 257, 26. Or. 46, 2. 194, 9. Guth. 463. 1276.

XIV. SWA IN CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

(1) With *swa* alone.

An occasional concessive modal is found in Latin:

Ovid: Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas
(*though* the strength fails, still the will should be approved)

Harkness (Latin Grammar: § 515, note 5) remarks that the above construction 'involves comparison rather than concession'; that it is literally 'as-so'.

1. Gen. 391:

Swa he us ne mæg ænige synne gestælan þæt we him
on þam lande lað gefremedon, he hæfd us þeah leohtes
bescyrede
(*Although* he cannot charge us with any sin).

2. Ex. 80:

hæfde witig god sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden *swa* þa
mæstrapas men ne cudon
(*though* men knew not the mast-ropes)

3. Rid. 23, 13:

þa þa hors odbær eh ond eorlas æscum dealle ofer
wætres byht wægn to lande *swa* hine oxa ne teah
(*although* no ox pulled it)

4. DG. 33, 25:

eornostlice *swa* micel hæte hine onælde sawla to gestry-
nenne Gode ælmihtigum, þæt he *swa* wæs mynstra hyrde,
þæt he on healfa gehwilce ferde yrnende
(*although* he was the keeper of the minster)

5. ASHom. 10, 183:

and wite þu, þæt heo is of dinum sæde geeacnod, *swa*
swa þu nystest
(*although* thou knowest it not)

Other cases: Rid. 7, 4. HP. 6, 21. El. 498. Or. 206, 3. 18. POT. 798 (with *swa þæt*). DG. 33, 25. 158, 29.

(2) With *swa þeah*.

1. And. 812:

Nu þu miht gehyran, hyse leofesta, hu he wundra worn
wordum cydde, *swa þeah* ne gelyfdon larum sinum mod-
blinde menn
(*though* men . . believed not)

2. ASHom. 3, 169—70 (asyndetic sentence):

ac heo nis na eall mæden *swa þeah* on lichaman
ac heo is swa þeah mæden soðlice on gasta
(For *although* she is not wholly virgin)

Also Or. 258, 2.

XV. SWA IN CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

Swa-conditional is found in Old English in two forms: *swa þeah þæt* and *swa*. In the first, the modal character of *swa* is discernible: 'in such a manner, though, that', 'provided that'. In the second, the development of the conditional from the modal is not so evident, but here too the *swa*-clause probably serves to restrict the scope of the verb in the main clause. Modals are similarly used in Latin ³⁷:

Off. 1, 88 (Lane *op. cit.* 1, 88):

ita probanda est clementia, *ut* adhibeatur severitas.
(mercy is to be commended, *provided that* strictness is employed).

Modo may be similarly used:

modo ne sit ex pecudum genere -Off. 1, 30
(*provided only* he be not of brutish stock).

Cases occur frequently in New English:

³⁷ Also in other WGnc. dialects. Cp. OHG (Tatian 239, 3): *so uuillih inan uuonen uns ih guimu: uuaz thi thes?* (*If* I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?).

1. Grimald (*A True Love*):
With he *so* I may live and dye,
My weal cannot be told.
2. Greene (*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*):
It is no matter how witty, *so* it be eloquent.
3. Shakespeare (*Merchant of Venice*):
So please my Lord to quit the fine, I am content.
4. Milton (*Areopagitica*):
Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play
upon the earth, *so* Truth be in the field, we do injuriously
by licensing and prohibiting.
5. B. Mandeville (*Fable of the Bees*):
If a man sleeps at church, *so* he does not snore, we ought
to think he shuts his eyes to increase attention.
Compare also our present-day:
I don't care how you arrange it, just *so* the money is paid.

(1) With *swa þeah þæt*.

1. BR. 44, 15b:
swa þeah þæt he þæs gyne, þæt þa hundteontigandfiftig
þæs salteres sealmas syn . . . gesungene
(*provided that* [Latin: *dum omnimodus adtendatur*] he
take care that one-hundred fifty psalms of the psalter
be . . sung).
2. BR. 70, 14:
swa þeh þæt he nane þenunga on cirican onsundrum ne
beginne
only *on condition that* [Latin: *ita plane ut*] he presume
not at all to begin any service in the oratory).

(2) With *swa*.

If it is assumed that a NHG *ohne daß* construction is the same as an English clause for condition (*unless-if not*), then Rid. 88, 31 may possibly be considered as a conditional clause. Grein so translates it. Sehr (Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand: p. 184, col. 1: 23 f.) lists a number of examples of Old Saxon so used in the *ohne daß* sense. Tupper (*Riddles of the Exeter Book* (glossary) gives 'where' for the *swa* in Rid. 88, 31. I have

followed Tupper, and listed it under worn-down correlatives on p. 49.

1. *Apollonius of Tyre* (*Archiv.* vol. 97, p. 29, line 26):

Nim nu, lareow Apolloni, *swa* hit þa ne mislicyge ond bryng
þinum læringmægdene

(Go to, master Apollonius, *if* it is not displeasing to you,
and bring your pupil).

XVI. RESULT CLAUSES.

(1) With *swa* alone.

1. Gen. 471:

wesan on worulde, se þæs wæstmes onbat, *swa* him after
þy ylde ne derede ne suht sware
(might live forever . . . *so that* old age would not press
heavily)

2. Beow. 2006:

ic þæt eall gewræc, *swa* begylpan [ne] þearf Grendeles
maga ænig ofer eorðan uhthlem þone
(that all I avenged, *so that* under heaven any of the
kinsmen of Grendel need not boast. -Hall).

Other cases: Beow. 1508. 2574. Gen. 381. 471. 611. 733.
Dan. 464. 639. Az. 60. 187. Rid. 61, 16. Finn. 41. And. 261. 987.
Guth. 1118. El. 340. Or. 40, 34. 168, 13. 198, 7. 8. 296, 25b. 34.
AGen. 8, 12b. AEx. 34, 28. Ps. 92, 2. ASHom. 10, 298. 18, 216.

It will be seen from the above that the earliest form is in *swa*-alone, since that form is used almost exclusively in the Cædmonian and Cynewulfian poetry. It was a loose construction, something like our latter-day, "It was raining, *so* I put on my coat". In the later literature *þæt* or some other element was added to the *swa*. Gothic has three forms: *swe*; *swaei*; and *swaswe*:

1. Luke 5, 7:

jah qemun jah gafullidedun þa þo skipa, *swe* sugqun
(filled both ships *so that* they sank)

2. Mark 1, 27:

jah afslauþnodedun allai sildaleikjandans *swaei* sokidedun
miþ sis misso qiþandans
(were all amazed, *insomuch that* they questioned)

3. I Corinthians 13, 2:

jah habau alla galaubein, *swaswe* fairgunja miþsatjau
(though I have all faith, *so that* I could remove mountains)

(2) With *swa* *þæt*.

(a) With *swa* in the protasis.

1. PB. 13, 75:

forþon hio *swa* hwearfad *þæt* hio eft cume
(it *so* comes *that* it appears again).

2. ASHom. 4, 227:

and hine *swa* gegremode, *þæt* god cwæþ be him
(vexed him *so that* God said).

Other cases: LAS 244: 31, 1. 254: 32, 1. 236: 1. 1a. 336, 35. 392, 6. 410, 4, 3. PB. 13, 6. BR. 42, 12. 32, 19. 51, 5. 66, 2. 6^{as}. 99, 12. 119, 5. 141, 2—5 (2). Or. 96, 5. 148, 4. 178, 5 (2). 200, 29. 284, 30. EH. 1, 411. 1297. 1597—8. 2, 1846—47. 4, 2114. 3101. 5, 3212—13. DG. 13, 1. 16, 28. 38, 23. 44, 20. 48, 4. 50, 34. 87, 2. 146, 26. 172, 12. 195, 11. 206, 19. 213, 28. 214, 1. 223, 13. 239, 19. 243, 9. 274, 17. 279, 13. 281, 17. 299, 23. 316, 21—22. 178, 11. 252, 18. PB. 11, 31. EH. 4, 1425. Or. 13, 31—2. 84, 11. PPs. 118, 31. 321, 26. 326, 10. 349, 12. BH. 151, 26. 191, 2. ASHom. 4, 158. 227. 281. 10, 513. 13, 193. 16, 11. 20. 174b, 247. 250. 315. 8, 175. POT. 532. AGen. 20, 6b. PPs. 82, 11. Wulf. 10, 2c. 13, 15. 14, 2. 16, 17. 39, 12. 52, 26. 53, 12. 54, 13. 19. 99, 10. 110, 10. 151, 24. 165, 2. 195, 7. 19. LAS. 244: 31, 1. 263: 1, 1a. 410: 4, 3.

Here belong clauses representing the ut-substantive clause:

3. BR. 119, 5:

Gif hit þonne *swa* getimaþ *þæt*
(If it *so* happen *that*).

Other cases: BR. 42, 14. 67, 12. 36, 3. DG. 8, 15. 11, 28. 13, 11. 15, 32. 38, 23. 44, 20. 48, 4. EH. 2, 1846—7. 3, 1737.

^{as} From one angle, this may be considered a conditional clause
See above, p. 64.

4, 3625. 5, 3100. Whale 31. El. 271. And. 177. 438. 661. 1328. Or. 62, 4. DG. 22, 6. 66, 25. 106, 34. 155, 8 C. 168, 15. 182, 12. 187, 26. 188, 28. 202, 14. 21. 209, 25. 219, 26. 245, 12. 309, 6. 314, 17. 296, 20. AGen. 31, 26.

(b) With *swa* in the apodosis.

1. BR. 72, 19:

butan he þa þenunge forðbringan mæge, *swa* þæt he þa
getimbrige and no ne gedrefe þa, ðe hine gehyrad
(unless he can perform that office *so that* those that hear
will be edified).

2. DG. 53, 12:

and þa his lif geendode, *swa* þæt openlice wæs gecyþed
(and then his life ended, *so that* it was freely said).

Other cases: Beow. 1667. Whale 11. And. 261. 1288. Or. 30, 29. 36, 16. 52, 1. 86, 25. 172, 3. 8. 212, 21. 252, 26. 290, 1. EH. 1, 125. 423. 1495. 1808. 2, 622. 803. 1157. 1583. 3, 156. 704a. 1814 (O). 4, 1166. 1715. 2613B. 3387a. 3674. 3749. 3931. 4573. 4744. 4758. 5, 395. 466. 721. BR. 5, 24. 34, 15. 44, 11. 68, 12. 73, 13. 76, 6. 141, 2a. 2b. VPs. 103, 35. BH. 133, 24. 145, 29. 193, 2. 219, 12. 235, 6. 237, 6a. 241, 27. 245, 22. ASHom. 1, 62. 146. 3, 509. 4, 71. 198. 144. 180. 201. 237. 5, 85. 6, 173. 9, 53. 104. 337. 381. 10, 96. 16, 13. 17, 11. 18, 19. 71b. 16, 124. 129. 206. 168. POT. 757. 758. PNT. 960. PG. 100. AGen. 9, 23. 13, 6. 20, 18. 21, 2. 31, 26. EH. 1, 50. AEx. 4, 3. 8, 32. 9, 11. Lev. 26, 25. 29, 31. Num. 22, 20. 25, 0c. Deut. 9, 9. 31, 17. Josh. 2, 22. Jg. Pro. 7. Jg. 3, 8. 14. 22. 10, 17. 11, 33a. 14, 5. 16, 5. 30. JEp. 41. 47. 74. DG. 37, 26. 42, 12. 47, 21. 49, 3. 57, 6. 61, 6. 67, 17. 71, 7. 72, 9. 73, 15H. 78, 1. 161, 13. 162, 26. 166, 12. 179, 8. 183, 26. 185, 25. 193, 2. 202, 19. 205, 2. 207, 17. 216, 27. 222, 11a. 227, 11. 228, 27. 230, 13. 235, 3. 236, 13. 238, 7. 242, 1. 247, 3. 16. 248, 1. 249, 1. 263, 19. 268, 18. 274, 12. 285, 6. 290, 23a. 23b. 291, 18. 292, 15. 299, 18. 22. 311, 12. 317, 19. 330, 20. 339, 18. 342, 29 eac. 344, 21. 347, 29. Wulf. 17, 8. 51, 24. 53, 12. 23. 105, 9. 165, 5. 174, 1. 193, 14. 198, 2. 14. 199, 22. DG. 78, 12. 81, 26H. 82, 29. 100, 21. 101, 34. 110, 31. 113, 1. 12. 119, 10. 157, 7. 9. 158, 32. 160, 1. 220, 15. 242, 25.

This sub-type also is used for noun clauses:

3. ASHom. 10, 402:

Ne gewurd þæt næfre *swa* *þæt* ic wer grette
(Latin: Non potest fieri *ut* ego virum cognoscam).

Other cases: BR. 113, 26. ASHom. 10, 343. 15, 12.

(3) With *swa* as an adverb of degree.

(a) With adjective or participle³⁹.

1. Beow. 1732:

geded him *swa* gewealdene worolde dælas, side rice,
þæt he selfa ne mæg for his unsnyttrum ende gepencean
(so subject to him . . . that).

2. Or. 36, 26:

þa wæs æfterre þæt froxas comon geond eall Egypta land,
swa fela *þæt* man ne mihte nan weore wyrcean
(frogs . . so many that no man could do any work).

3. EH. 4, 1231:

and hi mid *swa* micelre fyrhto and wafunge gesloh, *þæt*
hie þone sang, þe hi sungan, forhtiende forleton
(such great amazement . . . *þæt*).

4. POT. 41:

þæt is se halga gast, þe ealle þing geliffæst *swa* micel
and *swa* mihtig, *þæt* he mid gife ealle þa englas onliht,
þe eardiad on heofenum
(so great and so mighty that).

Other cases: Ath. 7. BR. 57, 3 (2). 68, 5. 73, 16. 109, 20.
121, 6 (such). PB. 19, 30. 22, 50. Or. 34, 32. 36, 7. 38, 13. 42, 23.
44, 29. 46, 27. 48, 11. 88, 15. 104, 4. 120, 32. 136, 5. 25. 140, 6.
166, 6. 15. 176, 30. 184, 23. 186, 34. 194, 18. 196, 17. 198, 15.
216, 25. 226, 2. 244, 8. 246, 10. 250, 11. 256, 16. 258, 26. 260, 16.
264, 2. 8. 266, 12. 268, 12. 17. 19. 290, 12. 296, 30. EH. 1, 85—6.
809. 2042—4. 2342. 1521—25. 1566—68. 1717. 3, 1504. 1635.
814. 1266—7 (3). 4, 890—2. 1257a. 1320. 2593. 2660. 3095. 3159.

³⁹ Naturally, participles included in a periphrastic verb are not given here.

3221. 3517. 4162. 4164. 4537. 4915 (2). 5, 44—5. 170. 1033—4 (2). 1468. 1536 (2). 1671. 1701. 1768. 2543. 3271—3 (2). DG. 11, 7. 18, 12. 33, 23. 25. 34, 2. 90, 15. 97, 6 H. 22. 30. 101, 1. 113, 28H. 116, 20—21 (part). 122, 6. 167, 18. 23—25. 168, 3. 180, 7. 184, 18. 197, 5. 203, 22. 212, 25. 227, 10. 236, 21. 244, 16. 251, 5. 284, 19. 308, 20. 319, 2. ASHom. 1, 104. 2, 165. 3, 365. 4, 158. 254. 5, 91. 9, 93. 179. 13, 230. 16, 6. 16. 143. 145. 17, 5. 18, 378 (2). Job. XI: 2, 13. PNT. 1196. AGen. 11, 4C. 19, 3a. 41, 47—9. AEx. 10, 21. 16, 16. Lev. 26, 36. Deut. 14, 24. 15, 7. JEp. 42. 59. 62. LAS. 208: 1, 5a. 210: 2, 2. 236: 1, 1b. 366: 83, 2. Wulf. 8, 2—3. 16, 14. 34, 10. 85, 8. 95, 17. 95, 20. 102, 14. 106, 5. 107, 15 (2). 140, 3. 148, 8. 149, 12. 18. 151, 24. 155, 5. 11. 172, 2. 173, 28. BH. 137, 30. 147, 18. BR. 75, 3—4. ASHom. 4, 277. EH. 4, 248—9. DG. 48, 10. 171, 4. 314, 25. AGen. 41, 30. Deut. 4, 8. Wulf. 34, 3—4. 46, 20. 110, 10. 162, 16.

(b) With an adverb.

1. BH. 217, 19:

and hine efne *swa* færlice deað fornam *ðæt* he ungefullad
fordferde
(so suddenly *that* he died unbaptized)

2. EH. 5, 1847:

and he *swa* lustlice and *swa* geornfullice was fram hym
gehered, *þæt* he in þæt gemyngode mynster mid his bene
inngedon wæs
(so willingly and so attentively *that*)

3. Or. 96, 32:

and þær *swa* ungemetlice gefuhton *þæt* hie neah ealle
furwordon
(so fiercely fought *that*).

4. AGen. 25, 25:

and se oder com *swa* hrade æfter þam oðrum *þæt* he hæfde
þæs bróðor fotwolman on handa
(so quickly after *that*).

5. BR. 124, 6:

hyra sum mid þam awyrigan gaste toþundennessa *swa*
stiþe toblawenne, *þæt* him þincþ
(so severely puffed up ... *that*).

Other cases: Or. 21, 14. 44, 30. 70, 16. 80, 15. 98, 7. 106, 24. 118, 22. 128, 3. 208, 1. 136, 21. 170, 5. 178, 17. 186, 7. 190, 17. 252, 24. 244, 10. 248, 1. EH. 3, 315. 1970. 4, 615—19 (2). 1456—7. 2653—4. 3102. 5, 1846 (2). 2392 (2). 1009—10. 2866. 3023. DG. 20, 24. 99, 30. 173, 9. 199, 1. 255, 32. 257, 4. 347, 10. 41. AGen. 16, 10. 19, 3b. 24, 67. 43, 30. Num. 20, 11. Wulf. 85, 5. 106, 12. ASHom. 16, 114. LAS. 226, 9b. PB. 19, 38—9. 20, 163. 22, 3. DG. 59, 12. 326, 10. BH. 124, 6. 129, 7. Or. 256, 25. 268, 15.

(4) In the sequence *swa* — *swa þæt*.

1. HP. 3, 31:

þyn magen is *swa* mære, mihtig drihten, *swa þæt* ænig
ne wat, eorðbuendra þa deopnesse drihtnes mihta
(so majestic . . . so that).

2. BH. 161, 12:

and mid Haliges Gastes geofum *swa* swiþe onlyhte . . .
swa þæt hie eal
(so strongly illuminated . . . so that).

3. EH. 4, 2613 (O):

and *swa* well wære, *swa* þætte monige tealdon
(and she was so well so that many thought).

Also: DG. 164, 12—14. 241, 28 ff. 244, 5. 282, 19. 286, 25—26.

(5) In the sequence *swa* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adjective} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{adverb} \end{array} \right. + oþþæt$.

In New English, 'so long until' is no longer in use, although it may be found early in the period:

Arthur of Little Britain:

And they roode so long *tyll* they were oute of the towne.

Earle (*Microcosmographie*):

. . and haunts the threshold so long *till* he forces good nature to the necessity of a quarrel.

In such cases, *until* (OE *oð þæt*) is a temporal *conjunction*, but since it specifies the abstract intensity implicit in the adverb *so*

(*swa*) by way of result rather than of time, the clause may be properly regarded as a result clause.

1. BH. 193, 3—4:

hie openlice þæt gesetton þæt he on witnunge stowe *swa*
lange swungen wære *oþþæt* he swylte
(should be scourged *so long until* he died)

2. BR. 70, 7:

and þæt *swa* lange don, *oþ þæt* abbode þam dince þæt hi
fulbet hæbben
(*so long until* the abbot thinks)
Latin: *sic — usque dum*

3. AJosh. 7, 17:

and eode ðæt gehlot *swa* lange *oð* hit becom to ðam
ylcan men
(*so long until* it fell)

4. Nar. 32, 2:

Wif habbaþ beardas *swa* side *oþ* heora breost
(beards *so long until* their breasts)

5. BR. 131, 5:

and *swa* lange astreht æt his fotum liege *oþ þæt* he his
yldran mod gegladige
(*so long [tamdiu] until [usque dum]* he appeases his elder's
spirit)

Other cases: DG. 43, 7. Deut. 28, 53. ASHom. 3, 343b.
4, 187. DG. 101, 18H. 220, 9. 241, 4. 248, 23. 309, 12.

(6) In the sequence *swa* adverb to *þon þæt*.

1. EH. 5, 336:

and se earm wæs *swa* swide great and aswollen to *þon*
þæt he nænige bignesse on þam elnbogan hæfde
(*so much enlarged . . . that* it had no flexibility)

(7) In the sequence *swa* adjective *þa þa*.

1. Job. VIII: 5—6:

he buton gytsunge *swa* micle æhta hæfde *þa þa* he hi
swa eadelice buton unrotnysse forlet
(he had without avarice *such* great possessions *that* he
would give them up easily without regret).

(8) In the sequence *swa* — *swa*.

In this type, *swa* replaces *þæt*. Such clauses lean toward the notion of comparison, the same way as that in New English of expressing result by 'so — as' where 'so that' would be more common. Compare:

1. Skelton (*Colyn Cloute*):

With clauses two or three,
So *as* they might be,
Compendyously conueyde.

2. Holinshed (*Chronicles*):

.. with interchange of devise, *so* delightful to the reader ..
as nothing could be taken out of it.

3. Bacon (letter to Burghley):

This is *so* fixed in my mind ... *as* it cannot be removed.

4. Walton (*Life of Donne*):

.. there was *so* mutual a knowledge and such friendship
.. *as* nothing but death could force a separation.

The cases in Old English are as follows:

1. Beow. 1046 ⁴⁰:

Swa manlice mære þeoden hord-weard hæleþa heado-
ræsas geald mearum and madmum, *swa* hy næfre man lyhð
(In *so* manly a manner *that* no man would condemn)

2. Jud. 67—8:

Gefeol þa wine *swa* druncen se rica on his reste middan,
swa he nyste ræda nanne on gewitlocan
(the mighty one fell, *so* drunken with wine *that* he lay)

3. BR. 63, 19:

þæt þonne *swa* sy foresceawod, *swa* þær næfre oferfyl ne
filige
(so that it be *so* provided *that*)

⁴⁰ So, Moncrieff and Hall. Harrison-Sharp reads 'so—as'. Thorpe and Kemble take the two separately. Garnett uses a 'such—as' sequence.

4. Or. 18, 34—35: (2 cases)

and se mor syðþan, on sumum stowum, *swa* brad *swa*
man mæg on twam wucum oferferan
(*so* broad *that* a man may pass over)

5. POT. 493—5: (3 cases)

swa fægere getimbrod ... *swa* we seeggan ne magon
(*so* handsomely built ... *that* we cannot describe)

Other cases: EH. 1, 788—90. PNT. 1269. BR. 64, 18—19.
DG. 5, 29. Or. 134, 14.

XVII. PURPOSE CLAUSES.

(a) With *swa* alone.

1. FS. 89:

Hæle sceal wisfæst and gemetlic ... *swa* he wid ælda
mæg eades hleotan
(A man should be wise and temperate .. *so that* with the
coming of age he may enjoy happiness).

(b) With *swa þæt*.

1. BH. 245, 22:

sænd mycel wæter þurh þinne muþ, *swa þæt* sien ge-
wemmede ealle þa on þisse ceastre syndon
(Send a great stream through thy mouth, *so that* all the
men may be destroyed who are in this city. -Morris).

2. BR. 68, 12:

stande .. on dam stede ... *swa þæt* he sy gewend fram
þam abbode and fram eallum his geferum
(stand in the place ... *so that* he may be put to shame
in the sight of the abbot and all his brethren).

Also: Wulf. 193, 14.

XVIII. COMPOUND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS.

Hwær, *hwider*, *oft*, etc. are sandwiched between a correlative
swa-pair to form a compound conjunctive adverb of the indefinite
or all-embracing type.

(a) *swa hwær swa*.

1. BR. 117, 1—2:

Swa hwar swa gebrodra hi gemetan, a se gingra bletsunge
bidde fram þam yldran
(*wherever* the brethren meet)

Other cases: EH. 3, 301. 1291. 1443. 2024. 4, 161. 4003.
5, 433. BR. 31, 7. DG. 295, 23. PNT. 860. AGen. 28, 15. AEx.
5, 11. 10, 23. Wulf. 172, 6. 181, 10. LAS: 128, Pro. 2b. 179:
8, 4a. 226, 9a. 262, 4. 268, 40. 456, 3.

(b) *swa hwider swa*.

2. ASHom. 2, 126:

Hi folgiad Criste, *swa hwider swa* he gæd
(*whithersoever* he goeth).

Other cases: EH. 4, 148. 224. 368. 1812. BH. 233, 33. DG.
17, 9. 34, 18. 47, 22. 237, 14. ASHom. 3, 456. 459. AGen. 20, 16.
LAS. 10, 10. 14, 27. 445, 2. DG. 295, 21 (def.). BH. 233, 33.

(c) *swa oft swa*.

3. BH. 33, 21:

swa oft swa we oht uneaþes þrowian æt yfflum monnum
(*as often as* [i. e. *whenever*] we suffer).

Other examples are listed under correlatives of comparison
on p. 39.

XIX. *SWA* AS A TEMPORAL ADVERB.

From the practice of using *swa*-modal as a transitional link,
develops easily a *swa*-type used with an implication of time.
Compare New English: Skelton: 'And *so* fare you well, sayde
Skelton', also the Pepysean, 'And *so* to bed'. One may also
compare the German-American idiom, 'So he wanted me to come
and *so* to stay home', for 'now — now'. The Latin equivalent
of the Old English *swa* is usually *sicque* or *et sic*.

1. EH. 1, 1005 (chapter heading):

Dæt þa ylcan biscopas Bryttum on gefeohte godcunde
fultum forgeafon and *swa* ham wæron eft hweorfende
(How the same bishops brought help from Heaven to the
embattled Britons, and *then* returned home again)

2. EH. 1, 1106 (chapter heading):

Dæt Augustine wæs cumende on Breotone ærest on Tenet þam ealonde, and Cantwara cynninge Cristes geleafan bodode, and *swa* mid his lefnysse Godes word bodigende on Cent eode (How Augustine, coming into Britain, first preached the Isle of Thanet to the King of Kent, and *so* having obtained license from him, went into Kent to preach)

3. EH. 2, 972:

and he sigefæst *swa* eft ham ferde
(and *so* he returned home victorious)

4. EH. 3, 554 B:

and he þær his dagas geendade and *swa* to heofenum ferde
(and he there ended his days and *so* went to heaven)

5. EH. 1, 633:

and *swa* mid mycele sige ham foran
(and *so* with a great victory went home).

See also: EH. 3, 2254. 2591 (Miller). 5, 2657. 731 (Miller).

(b) As the latter arm of a temporal correlation.

Here are included only those cases following the expressions *mid þæm þe*, *þa þa*, *rade*, etc., or a single *swa* in the antecedent clause. For this type of *swa* following 'sona *swa*' see above p. 43.

1. Or. 172, 8b:

Swa þæt *þa* se oðer consul gehierde Diulius, *swa* gefor he to ðæm iglonde
(*When* the other consul, Diulius, heard that, *then* he proceeded to the island).

2. Or. 188, 9:

Mid þæm þe Hannibal to ðæm londe becom, *swa* gewicade he to an anre diegelre stowe
(*when* Hannibal came to that land, *then* he encamped).

3. DG. 216, 16:

and *þa þa* he lange hwile gnad, *swa* se deada man onfeng his sawle
(and *when* he had rubbed for a long while, *then* the dead man came to life).

4. Or. 170, 5:

ræde þæs þe hie ham coman . . . swa wurdon hie swa
swipe forþohte
(as soon as they came home . . . *then* they were so despised).

See also: EH. 3, 1085—90 B.

XX. *SWA* AS A RELATIVE ADVERB IN AN
ADJECTIVE CLAUSE.

1. Gen. 1669:

hie gesohton Sennera feld, *swa* þa foremeahtige folces ræswan,
þa yldestan oft and gelome līdsum gewunedon
(they sought the field of Sennar, *where* the powerful tribe-
leaders had lived at ease).

Also: EH. 5, 1480—84. 1640.

XXI. *SWA* AS A RESULTANT ADVERB.

Sometimes, instead of the regular modal meaning, the *swa* is best rendered by 'therefore' or 'wherefore'. The idea of this resultant adverb may likewise be expressed by 'so that' at the head of a sentence. In such a case, the 'so that' has become a transitional unit between its own clause and one in the preceding sentence; it has given up its usual modal signification for one of inference or conclusion to the sentence it follows. Such an arrangement is frequent in New English:

1. Metcalfe (*Scandinavian and Englishman*):

Offa died 794. *So that* this sword was more than two centuries old.

2. Macy (*World's Literature*):

The Pope at Rome was often the unifying personality as head of the universal Church, who presided not only over the spiritual life but over temporal affairs of the many countries and principalities of Europe

So that Europe did not quite cease to be Roman, etc.

The Old English cases follow:

(a) *Swa* alone.

1. Guth. 623:

Sindon ge wærlogan, *swa* ge in wræcside longe lifdon
(Faithless fiends are ye; *wherefore* ye have long lived
in exile)

2. HH. 69:

Swa we ealle to þe an-gelyfad
(*Therefore* we all in thee alone believe)

3. Ex. 313:

Judisc feda an onorette uncud gelad for his mægwinum,
swa him mihtig god þæs dægweorces deop lean forgeald
(Juda's tribe alone trod the unknown road before their kinsmen;
so that God Almighty gave them great reward for that work).

(b) With *swa* *þæt*.

4. Ph. 381:

forgeaf him se meahta mon-cynnes fruma þæt he swa
wrætlice weorpan sceolde eft þæt ilce þæt he ær þon wæs
feþrum bifongen þeah hine fyr nime.

Swa þæt ece life eadifra gehwylc æfter sar-wræce sylf
geceosed

(The Almighty, mankind's Creator, hath granted it, that
it should become, in wondrous wise, the same thing that
it was before, clad with feathers, though fire consume it.

Thus each blessed one chooseth for himself the life
eternal, after sore tribulation here. -Gollancz).

The meaning is modal, but the form is result: 'so that'.

XXII. *SWA*⁴¹ IN AN INDEFINITE PRONOUN COMBINATION.

The interrogative pronouns (masculine and feminine: *hwa*
and *hwelc*; neuter *hwæt*, are used with a *swa*-pair as a pronoun

⁴¹ In addition to the above the all-embracing indefinite pronoun
(usually L. *quidquid*) may be expressed by the adjective *eall* + *swa*:
AGen. 41, 13:

And he sæde unc *eall*, *swa* hit siddan aeode
(Latin: *audivimus, quidquid* postea rei probavit eventus).

of universality: 'whosoever', 'whatsoever'. The forms in the *Vespasian Psalter* have only one *swa*. In the translations the pronoun *swa hwæder (swa)* equates Latin *utrumque*.

(a) With *hwa*.

1. Gen. 438:

Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne, *swa hwa swa* þæt
seegan cymed
(*whosoever* shall return complaining)

2. AGen. 9, 6:

Swa hwa swa agyt dæs mannes blod, his blod byð agoten
(*Whosoever* sheddeth man's blood)

(b) With *hwelc*.

3. BR. 125, 14:

and hit þam abbode ræd þince, *swa hwilcne swa* se abbod
geceose mid geþeahte þara broþra
(*whomsoever* the abbot . . . chooses)

4. BR. 133, 13:

Swa hwylc swa onettende efst to þam heofonlice eþle
(*Whosoever* wishes to come speedily to the heavenly domain).

(c) With *hwæt*.

5. Gen. 755:

Swa hwæt swa wit her mordres þoliad
(*whatever* of death we suffer here)

6. VPs. 113, 3:

god soðlice ur in heofene upp in heofene and in eorðan
all *swe hwet* walde dyde
(Deus autem noster in cælo sursum in cælo et in terra
omnia quæcumque voluit fecit).

7. BR. 9, 19:

and *swa hwæt swa* him oflicad . . hie hit lætað
(*whatever* is dispeasing).

See also Dan. 62. 156.

Occasionally a correlative comparison of equality is closely akin to the compound relative pronoun; for example:

BH. 53, 4:

and *swa* feala earmra manna *swa* on þæs rican neaweste
and þæs welegan sweltaþ
(and *as* many poor men *as* die: [i. e. *whatsoever*] men).

(d) With *hwæder* (*hweder*).

8. HP. 7, 99:

drihtenes are odde deofles þeowet, *swa hwæder* we geearniad
her on life
(God's glory or the Devil's thrall-drom, *whichever* we have
merited in this life).

9. Wulf. 109, 1b—c:

swa ece wite . . . swa ece blisse, *swa hwæder swa* we on
life ær geearnedon
(*whichever* we have merited).

Other cases.

With *hwa*: Gen. 483. ASHom. 5, 52. AGen. 4, 15C. 21, 6.
44, 10. Ex. 1, 22. 4, 9.

With *hwelc*: BR. 20, 2. 133, 13. EH. 1, 1456. 3, 302. 4, 1543.
4824. 5, 1150. 1754. 1773. 3464. BH. 49, 15. 17. Wulf. 34, 11—12.
BH. 171, 20. Beow. 943. 2057. LAS. 334; 30, 5a. DG. 78, 3.
175, 4.

With *hwæt*: BR. 61, 7. 67, 21. 77, 3—4. 136, 18. 137, 22.
138, 15. 16. ASHom. 10, 208. 705. 11, 136. 15, 330. EH. 1, 1436.
2, 44. 4, 1377. 3387b. 3719. 4394. 4473. 4499. 4533. BH. 9, 11.
21, 23. 29, 7. 53, 14. 107, 11. 125, 36. 127, 1. 147, 8 (eal). 215, 25.
153, 17. 36. VPs. 134, 6. AGen. 31, 32. 39. 41, 55. AEx. 1, 22.
21, 30. 4, 9. Lev. 8, 32. Deut. 14, 26. 15, 8. Num. 1, 2. 10, 32.
23, 26. Josh. 6, 19. Job. IX: 2, 4. DG. 3, 18. 50, 30. 69, 21. 79, 31
(eall). 80, 25. 129, 5 (eall). 147, 7. 148, 2. 151, 6. 153, 22. 23.
166, 21 (eall). 182, 3. 201, 2. 227, 15. 267, 1. 269, 27. 281, 20.
290, 24. 293, 3. 7 (eall). 299, 29. 319, 25. 322, 6. 327, 26. LAS.
4, 14, 23 A. Wulf. 141, 5. 7. 170, 2. 173, 15—16. 178, 1. 183, 12.
PNT. 1037. BH. 237, 1. EH. 4, 473.

With *hwæder*: LAS. 112, 54c. 164: 24c. 177: 7c. 184, 1c.
216: 1, 3a. 230, 6a. 258, 50a. 278, ICn. 322: 20, 1. 328, 25a. 387:
5, 2a. 388, 2. Wulf. 5, 14b. 145, 14. 201, 10. BR. 66, 9. 99, 15.
111, 8.

XXIII. *SWA* IN AN INDEFINITE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN COMBINATION.

Swa hwylc *swa* is found also as an indefinite adjective pronoun, with the meaning of 'whichsoever' and 'whatsoever', and in the same capacity occurs *swa* hwæþer *swa*, meaning 'whichever (of two)'. The combination is always broken by the substantive to which the adjective pronoun attaches. The second *swa* may be reënforced: EH. (Ms. B) 2, 197. 4, 262—3.

1. Part. 5:

In *swa* hwylce tiid *swa* ge mid treowe to me on hyge
hweorfad
(in *whatever* time)

2. BR. 9, 17—18:

swa hwylc idel *swa* him to gepance yrnd and him ge-
coren bid
(*whatsoever* vainglory rushes).

3. EH. 3, 319 B:

.. ealle, þa ðe mid him eodon, ge bescorene ge læwede,
swa hwylc stowe *swa* hi gesohtan
(*whatsoever* place they sought).

Other cases: EH. 1, 378. 1993. 2, 197—8. 1721 Ms. B. (def.).
3, 1908 O (def.). 2095 (def.). 4, 262—3 (*swa*—*swa swa*). 473—4.
AGen. 2, 17. 3, 5. AEx. 12, 15. VPs. 55, 10. 85, 9. 101, 3. 113, 3b.
ASH. 10, 393.

There is one case of adjectival *swa* hwæder *swa*:

4. Beow. 686:

ond siþðan witig God on *swa* hwæpere hond
halig Dryhten mærdō deme, *swa* him gemet þince
(on *whichsoever* hand seemeth to him fitting).

XXIV. ASSEVERATIVE *SWA*.

Modern English has *as* and *so* in the asseverative sense: 'So help me, God' and 'As God is my helper, I shall enter the bay tomorrow'. Chaucer uses both forms. The relation of these

asseveratives to the modal is evident in the following lines from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*:

'Whereof, *as* heavens have known my secret thoughts,
So am I free from this suggestion.'

The cases in Old English are as follows:

1. Beow. 435:

ic þæt þonne forhige, *swa* me Higelac sie . . . modes blide
(Ic do scorn that then, as Hygelac is gracious unto me).

2. Jul. 81:

Ic þæt geswerge þurh soð godu *swa* ic are æt him æfre finde
(That I swear by the true gods, *so* may I ever find favor
with them)

3. ASHom. 16, 234:

Swa me sylfa dryhten lybbe, þam wyrsestan deaðe þu
scealt sweltan
(As the Lord himself liveth for me, thou shalt suffer the
most awful death)

4. ASHom. 16, 254:

Swa me dryhten lybbe, and *swa* myn sawl lybban mote,
þæt nelle ic næfre mynes dryhtnes andwlitan aseon
(As the Lord liveth for me, and *as* my soul may live,
I do not ever desire to see the face of my Lord)

Also: LAS. 398, 8a. 8b.

The section on asseveratives brings this investigation to a close. Much more prose might have been studied, but any further effort in that direction would hardly pass the test of 'diminishing returns'. The poetry, in which most of the subtle and doubtful cases occur, has been exhaustively treated.

A desirable line of further study would be the examination of the corresponding word in the other Germanic dialects: *swa* in Gothic, *swa* in Old Icelandic, and *so* in Old Saxon and Old High German. To that end, I have collected hundreds of specimens in those dialects, and sometime in the future, *deo volente*, I shall publish my findings and conclusions.

Appendix 1.

The Etymology of "swa".

Upon investigating the various authorities with regard to the etymology of *swa* and its relatives and noting the conflict of opinion, one is inclined to agree heartily with Weigand¹, who says bluntly, "Die eigentliche Herkunft und Entwicklung ist noch dunkel." A review of scholarly opinion on that benighted subject is in order here.

Jacob Grimm² was one of the first scholars to advance an opinion in the matter. He held that Gothic *swa* and its related particle *swe* belong to the demonstrative stem *sa*, and that the *w* had been inserted later, as in the development of Latin *qua*- and Gothic *hwa*- alongside of Sanskrit *ka*. Succeeding investigators have found that explanation more fantastical than correct, Bopp³ commenting on it as follows:

"Grimm's conjectures regarding the forms *swa* and *swe* appear to me to be untenable; and an explanation of these forms without the intervention of the Sanskrit and Zend is impossible."

Bopp himself dwells principally on two hypothetical words: first, Sk. *swa* (lengthened to *swe*), which he assumes to have existed as the theme of a non-extant simple substantive pronoun of the third person, and genderless⁴; and second, the "Zend"⁵ adverb *swe*⁶, a genuine instrumental, but used in the sense of 'as'. From the first is derived, by combining *swe* with the nominative termination

¹ Weigand, Fr. L. K.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (under "so").

² Grimm, Jacob: *Deutsche Grammatik*, III: 43.

³ Bopp, Franz: *Comparative Grammar*, I: 177 (Eastlake trans.).

⁴ Ibid. II: 475-6.

⁵ By this term, we now understand *Avestan*.

⁶ Ibid. I: 176. The form which actually occurs in "Zend" is of course *se*.

-am, Sk. *swayam* 'self', which is indeclinable. The *swa* form exists as the possessive, and is used for the first and second persons, as well as for the third. It is to be found also (sometimes altered) as a prefix in words carrying the ideas of ownership, selfhood, or relationship.

The adverb *swe*, according to Bopp⁷, bears the same relation to the theme SWA as "Zend" *khâ* to *kha*. The Gothic, the Old and Middle High German, and the Old English forms all grow out of it⁸. In Old High German and Old English, the same form is used for 'as' and 'so', whereas in Gothic, *swa* comes to hand as a pronominal adverb 'so', with an instrumental form *swe* 'how'.

Diefenbach⁹ is quite in accord with Bopp. He also refers to the Prakrit and "Zend" genderless pronoun of the third person, *se* (Old Persian *huwa*), to which Sk. *swa* would correspond. He likewise cites the possessive *swa*, corresponding to "Zend" *hwa*, *kha* (*qa*) 'his own'. He gives correspondences in Afghan, Ossetish, and Armenian.

Meyer¹⁰, too, connects Gothic *swa* and *swe* with a large group of words, possessive and reflexive, going back to the early pronominal stem *swa*, used chiefly as a back-reference. Here he places Sk. *swa* = Gk. *ŏ* (older **řó* from **řřó*) = Homeric *εřó* (from **σεřó*) meaning 'one's own'; certain Gothic words from which the *w* has dropped out; namely, *sik* = Gk. *ξ* (from older **řé* = *řřé*), Latin *se*, also Gothic *sis* = Gk. *οĩ* (from older **řοĩ* = *σřοĩ*) Latin *sibi* (from **svebi*), as well as Gothic *seina*; a number of Gothic words in which the *w* has persisted; namely, *svistar* 'sister' Sk. *swasar* (from *svastar*) Lat. *soror* (from **svostor*); *svaihran* 'father-in-law' = Sk. *evacura* Gk. *εχυřó* (from **σřεκυřó*), Latin *socero* (from **svocero*). His judgment is that *swa*, *swe* (an old instrumental), the combination *swaswe*, and the *svi* (as in

⁷ Bopp: *Comparative Grammar*, I: 33.

⁸ Bopp conjectures that this reflexive base is a combination of *sa* with *va*, the final vowel being suppressed, as in *s-y* from *sa-ya* 'this'.

⁹ Diefenbach, Lorenz: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, II: 364.

¹⁰ Meyer, Leo: *Die Gotische Sprache*, p. 511.

svi-kinþs) are all appurtenances of the primitive pronominal stem *swa*.

Brugmann¹¹ holds that the reflexive form is not a primitive one, but has arisen in imitation of forms of the first and second persons. He suggests that the demonstrative meaning of Gothic *swa* may have developed from the *ipse*-signification of the reflexive. In the *Comparative Grammar*¹², he gives the following cognates of Gothic *swa* and *swe*: Latin *si*, Oscan *svai*, *suae*; Umbrian *sue* 'if'; Volscian *se-pis* 'si quis'¹³; and in the *Short Grammar*¹⁴, discussing the Indo-European particle *s^{od}*, he gives the following genealogy:

s^{od} Av. *hvat* 'wie', 'gleich' (nach Geldner) Goth. *swa* 'so'.
Gk. *σφοδ* in Homer *ὅτι* 'was immer auch' Lokr. *φότι* Attic
ὅτις aus Hom. *ὅππως* from **σφοδ πως*; vielleicht ebenso Umb.
sopir 'quisquis' oder 'siquis' aus **s^{od} quis*. Vgl. auch Goth.
swe 'wie' OHG *so* 'so' aus **swo*, und Osc. *svai* 'si' (vgl.
so) Lat. *si* Gk. 'wenn'¹⁴.

This etymology is used almost without change by Professor S. Feist in the most recent edition of his Gothic etymological dictionary (1923).

Fick¹⁵ is substantially in agreement with the others. He supposes an IE **swe* (*sewe*), citing Gk. *ἑ* 'self' (from **σφε*); *ὅς* (Cretan *ρός*) 'his own'; *ἑτης* 'friend', 'relative' (from *σφετᾶς*); Lithuanian *sveczias* 'guest' (from *svetios*); and Lith. *svotas* 'wedding-guest', etc., and Old Slavonic *svatu* 'confederation', and Latin *suesco* 'I am wont'. On the oriental side, he refers us to the reflexive pronoun of Sanskrit, *swa* and the "Zend" *hva*.

It appears, therefore, that as regards the origin¹⁶ of *swa*,

¹¹ Brugmann: *Die Demonstrativpronomena*, pp. 30—32.

¹² Brugmann: *Comparative Grammar of the IE Languages*, I: 150.

¹³ Brugmann: *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 622.

¹⁴ Brugmann (*DDp.*) quotes Torp's case of Old Latin *suad* from an augury prayer; also Vulgar Latin *si* 'so'.

¹⁵ Fick, August: *IG Wörterbuch*, III: 543.

¹⁶ From the semantic angle, Professor Collitz points out that Gothic *swa* embraces the following concepts:

the consensus of scholarly opinion¹⁷ favors Bopp's theory of a reflexive-pronominal base, the instrumental of which gives rise to the modal adverbial form (i. e. *swe* and kindred forms) in the West Germanic dialects.

1. Individuality (Eigenheit) 'self', reflexive.

2. Identity (Eigentümlich) 'the same'.

3. Ownership (Eigentum) 'one's own'.

¹⁷ Horne Tooke's notion of the etymology of NE *so* and *as* is representative of the *sang froid* with which earlier scholars "settled" an etymology:

Diversions of Purley: "The German *so* and the English *so* (though in one language it is called an Adverb or Conjunction, and in the other an Article or Pronoun), are yet both of them derived from the Gothic article *sa* and *se*; and have in both languages retained the original meaning, viz. *It* or *That*." — p. 147.

He handles an opponent by a *non sequitur*, as follows:

"Mr. Tyrwhitt indeed (not perceiving *Al-es* and *Al-so* are different compounds) in a note on *Canterbury Thales* v. 7327 says — "our *as* is the same with *als* Teutonic and Saxon. It is only a further corruption of *also*." But the etymological opinion of Mr. Tyrwhitt (who derives *For the Nones* from Pronominal *nunc*) merits not the smallest attention." — p. 147.

On that point modern scholars would agree that Mr. Tyrwhitt's opinion "merits more attention" than Mr. Tooke's. Tooke continues:

"The truth is that *as* is also an article, and (however and whenever used in English) means the same as *It* or *That* or *Which*. In the German, where it evidently retains its original significance and use (as *so* also does) it is written *es*.

It does not come from *als*; any more than *though* and *beit* and *if* (or *gif*) come from *although*, *albeit*, and *algif* etc.; for *als* in our Old English is a contraction of *al*, and *es* or *as*; and this *Al* (which in comparisons used very properly to be employed before the first *es* or *as*, but was not employed before the second) we now in Modern English suppress: as we have done also in numberless other instances where *Al* (though not improper) is not necessary."

Appendix 2. Abbreviations Used.

| | | |
|--------|---|---------------------|
| AEx. | = Ælfric's <i>Exodus</i> | EETS No. 160 |
| AGen. | = Ælfric's <i>Genesis</i> | Ibid. |
| And. | = Andreas | GWBAP 2: 1 ff. |
| ASHom. | = AS Homilies and Holy Lives | GBAPr. vol. 3 |
| Az. | = Azarias | GWBAP 2: 490ff. |
| BAd | = The AS St. Basil's <i>Admonitio</i> | H. W. Norman (ed.) |
| BB | = Battle of Brunnanburh | C. L. Crow (ed.) |
| BH | = Blickling Homilies | EETS Nos. 58 and 63 |
| BM | = Battle of Maldon | C. L. Crow (ed.) |
| BMC | = The Classes of Monks (BH) | GBAPr. 2: 134ff. |
| BMS | = Concerning Priests, etc. (BH) | Ibid. 140ff. |
| Boeth. | = Consolation of Philosophy | S. Fox (ed.) |
| BR | = The Rule of St. Benedict | GBAPr. vol. 2 |
| Ch. | = Old English Charms | GWBAP 1: 312ff. |
| Cr. | = The Christ of Cynewulf | GWBAP 3: 1 ff. |
| CS | = Christ and Satan | GWBAP 2: 521ff. |
| DA | = The Death of Alfred | Ibid. 1: 384 f. |
| Dan. | = Daniel | Ibid. 2: 476ff. |
| DE | = The Death of Edward | Ibid. 1: 386ff. |
| Deor. | = Deor's Complaint | Ibid. 1: 278ff. |
| Deut. | = Ælfric's <i>Deuteronomy</i> | GBAPr. vol. 1 |
| DG | = The Dialogues of St. Gregory | Ibid. vol. 5 |
| DHR | = The Dream of the Holy Rood | GWBAP 2: 111 ff. |
| DJ | = The Day of Judgment | Ibid. 3: 171 ff. |
| DM | = The Destinies of Men | Ibid. 3: 148ff. |
| Edg. | = Edgar | Ibid. 1: 381 ff. |
| Edm.D. | = Edmund's Delivery of Five Shires | Ibid. 1: 380f. |
| EH | = OE Version of <i>Eccles. History</i> | GBAPr. vol. 4 |
| El. | = Elene | GWBAP 2: 126 |
| Ex. | = Cædmon's <i>Exodus</i> | GWBAP 2: 445ff. |
| FAp. | = Fate of the Apostles | G. P. Krapp (ed.) |
| FM | = The Falsehood of Men | GBAP 1: 142ff. |
| FS | = A Father's Advice to his Son | GWBAP 1: 353ff. |
| GBAP | = Grein: Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie | |
| GBAPr. | = Grein: Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa | |

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|--------------|--|------------------------------|
| Gen. | = Cædmon's <i>Genesis</i> | GWBAP 2: 318ff. |
| Gnv. | = Gnostic Verses (The Exeter Book) | GWBAP 2: 341ff. |
| gnv. | = Gnostic Verses (Cotton Ms.) | Ibid. 2: 338ff. |
| GPC | = Gregory's Pastoral Care | EETS Nos. 45 and 50 |
| Guth. | = Guthlac | GWBAP 3: 55ff. |
| Guth. Gd. | = The AS. Life of St. Guthlac | C. W. Goodwin (ed.) |
| GWBAP | = Grein-Wülker: Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie | |
| HH | = The Harrowing of Hell | GWBAP 3: 175ff. |
| HP | = Hymns and Prayers | Ibid. 2: 211ff. |
| JEp. | = Epilogue to Ælfric's <i>Judges</i> | GBAPr. 1: 263ff. |
| Jg. | = Ælfric's <i>Judges</i> | EETS No. 160 |
| Jud. | = Judith | GWBAP 2: 294ff. |
| Jul. | = Juliana | Ibid. 3: 117ff. |
| LAS | = Laws of the Anglo-Saxons (Gesetze der Angelsachsen) | F. Liebermann (ed.) |
| LHR | = Legends of the Holy Rood | EETS No. 46 |
| MM | = The Minds of Men | GWBAP 3: 145ff. |
| Nar. | = Narrantiunculæ Anglice | O. Cockayne (ed.) |
| Or. | = Alfred's <i>Orosius</i> | EETS No. 79 |
| Pan. | = The Panther | GWBAP 3: 164ff. |
| Part. | = The Partridge | Ibid. 3: 170 |
| PB | = The Poetry of Boethius | S. Fox (ed.) |
| PG | = Ælfric's Preface to <i>Genesis</i> | EETS No. 160 |
| PM | = The Pursuits of Men | GWBAP 3: 140ff. |
| Ps. L (Cot). | = Psalm 50 (Cotton Ms.) | GWBAP 3: 477 |
| PNT | = Preface to the New Testament | EETS No. 160 |
| POT | = Preface to the Old Testament | Ibid. |
| PPs. | = The Paris Psalter | GWBAP 3: 329ff. |
| Rid. | = Old English Riddles | F. Tupper (ed.) |
| RP | = The Rhyming Poem | GWBAP 3: 156ff. |
| RS | = The Rune Song | GWBAP 1: 331ff. |
| Seaf. | = The Sea-farer | GWBAP 1: 290ff. |
| SB | = Advice of the Soul to the Body | Ibid. 2: 92ff. |
| SS | = Salomon and Saturn | GWBAP 3: 247ff. |
| VPs. | = The Vespasian Psalter | EETS No. 83
(pp. 183—420) |
| Wald. | = Waldhere | GWBAP 1: 7ff. |
| Wand. | = The Wanderer | GWBAP 1: 284ff. |
| WC | = The Wonders of Creation | GWBAP 3: 152ff. |
| Wid. | = Widsith | Ibid. 1: 1ff. |
| WL | = The Wife's Lament | Ibid. 1: 302ff. |

Appendix 3.

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